

THE MISSISSIPPI FLOODS

Taming a Wild River

CAMPAIGN 2012

Does Jon Huntsman
have what it takes?

10 QUESTIONS

Inside Navy
Seal Team 6

TIME



WHY WE'RE STUCK WITH PAKISTAN

By Aryn Baker

PLUS

David Ignatius on
Pakistan's spy games



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Vehicles submerged near Jackson Avenue, a thoroughfare crossing Memphis.

Photograph by Mike Brown—the Commercial Appeal/Zuma Press

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Bob Dylan,
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Inbox

TIME stories that elicited the most mail

Obama 1,
Osama 0

Death Comes for
the Terrorist.

Where
Victory
Lies

EDITOR'S DESK

The Pakistan Conundrum



IN BIOLOGY, THE TERM IS symbiotic relationship—two different organisms that are mutually dependent. That pretty much describes the U.S.'s relationship with Pakistan. We depend on the Pakistanis for supply routes into Afghanistan and for support in the fight against terrorism; they depend on us for money and weapons. But the fact that Pakistan has proved to be a selective sponsor of terrorism, not to mention the host country for the past five or six years of Osama bin Laden, makes our relationship more fraught than ever before. The question is not only whether this marriage can be saved but whether it should be.

Aryn Baker's story goes to the heart of that relationship. Aryn, TIME's Middle East bureau chief, first went to Pakistan for us in 2003 and moved full time to the region in 2006. She has reported on every aspect of that troubled society, even tracking al Qaeda and the Pakistani Taliban on the country's border, where she interviewed a Wazir tribal elder who proposed marriage. (She declined.) In 2007 she was interviewing the head of a women's madrasah connected to Islamabad's Red Mosque when it was attacked by Pakistani security forces. "In the midst of the tear gas and shelling," Aryn recalls, "the young Pakistani women inside found the time and generosity to take care of the foreigner among them. Even when things are at their worst in Pakistan, hospitality never wavers."

Next week, TIME and CNN will return to our continuing focus on jobs and job creation. Tune in to CNN's *American Morning* and *Newsroom* beginning Wednesday, May 18, for stories on how to create jobs.

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

THE CONVERSATION

TIME.com's record traffic last week was driven by our breaking coverage of the death of **Osama bin Laden**, with nearly 50 million page views of stories on bin Laden alone. Especially intriguing: "**Bin Laden's Great Mistake**," by Romesh Ratnesar, on the terrorist leader's misreading of the American spirit; and an article on what bin Laden's wife (well, one of them) knew. The headline, "**The Real Housewife of Abbottabad**," was called the media's "wittiest" by one Twitterer. Another top read was Andrea Sachs' **interview with Sonny and Cher's former daughter, now son, Chaz Bono**. One commenter quipped a raft of criticism of people who seek a sex change: "It brings them peace. What is the harm in that?"



MAIL

The End of bin Laden



The news of the death of Osama bin Laden is cause for great happiness [May 20]. Justice has been served. Yet the families and friends of the victims of 9/11 will forever have to deal with the loss of their loved ones. Therefore they must know that their struggle is ours, and even while we rejoice in this news, we do not forget that they still struggle. We are, as President Obama noted, "united as one American family." *Sardar Anees Ahmad, WATERLOO, N.Y.*

I feel like a firsthand observer of bin Laden's demise, thanks to TIME's excellent reporters and photographers. The events and emotions were vividly and powerfully depicted. This veteran of the World War II South Pacific campaign appreciated your special report on this historic moment.

Dan Silkiss, LOPEZ ISLAND, WASH.

So as not to repeat the mistakes of the past, it is important that we remember it took an intelligent and steady President,

not a simpleminded cowboy wannabe, to finish the job with bin Laden. Actions speak louder than words.

Rob Bishop, PHOENIX

Our leaders and the media are grandstanding about the death of bin Laden, with ever more details about the raid being released. Why not just let terrorists wonder how we identified his hideout and not divulge that the trail began with information from Guantanamo? Why identify Seal Team 6, enabling terrorists to seek out team members and their families for retaliation? For that matter, why have we published our rules of engagement or the limits of our interrogation techniques? We are at war. "Loose lips sink ships" is a dated slogan but a lesson we need to relearn.

Cloyd Gatrell, CARLISLE, PA.

Frankly, I find the revelry and celebration of another human being's death disgusting, and no matter how wicked that man, there is no excuse for thoughtless execution. Bin Laden was a murderer, and I had hoped that the U.S. would not stoop to his level.

Amir Fleischmann, TORONTO

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Your covers of Saddam Hussein, Abu Mousab al-Zarqawi and bin Laden, all with the dramatic red X, stand in poor contrast to the original cover of Adolf Hitler. The actions of those three, though they brought devastation, pale by comparison with Hitler's responsibility for the loss of millions of lives, the social and physical destruction caused by his waging and the crippling economic effects of World War II.

Darlene L. Reiter, SHERIDAN, WYO.

9/11's Long Shadow

Nancy Gibbs claims we are more tolerant ("Where Victory Lies," May 20). Were it only so. I find the mood against immigrants and people of Arab descent poisonous and gaining power. Witness Donald Trump's questioning of our President's nationality and faith. It's better than it was 60 years ago, but we're not the peaceful utopia Gibbs seems to want to present.

Debbie Branen, COVINGTON, GA.

Just as Gibbs' daughter Galen became aware of evil when she was a very young child, I remember having a frightening black-and-white dream when I was a 6-year-old wherein the red sun on a Japanese flag was the only object in color. I grew up in the 1940s, and we didn't have TV back then, so perhaps the image came from theater newsreels. The fear slips in whether parents are aware of it or not.

Anne M. Petty, MISSOULA, MONT.

I was 9 in September 2001. I didn't know anyone who died in the attacks, but I mark it as the day I lost my innocence. I cry every year, not so much for the

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

► In "Death Comes for the Terrorist," we misstated the position held by the late Pakistani leader Benazir Bhutto [May 20]. She was Prime Minister, not President.

► In a World item about protests in Bahrain, we published the wrong photo [May 16]. The image we ran was not of King Hamad of Bahrain, as we stated in the caption, but of Qatar's Emir, Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani.

WRITE TO US

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POMP AND CIRCUMSTANCE

Thanks for the special commemorative issue on the royal wedding [May 16]. Although I am not particularly sentimental, I was struck by the almost perfect heart that is formed by the background between the couple's shoulders and heads in the cover photo. I hope it's a good omen.

James Falcone
Reston, Va.

You publish 27 pages on a British couple's getting married and one paragraph on one of the largest tornado outbreaks in U.S. history? More than 300 people were killed. Entire towns were wiped out. I think you owe an apology to your readers in the Southeast.

E. Quinn Leonard
Athens, Ala.



people who lost their lives but for kids like me who were forced to grow up a little too fast.

Meredith Kenyon, SCOTTSDALE, ARIZ.

The President's Men

I take issue only with Joe Klein's last paragraph ["Obama 1, Osama 0," May 20]. Just because the "lamestream media" are caught up in their need for constant drama, don't assume that members of the public don't get Obama. Many of us do, and we are grateful to have an intelligent, wise-beyond-his-years President in office. We simply turn off the TV whenever the cooked-up drama is served.

Phoebe Saffold, ALVIN, TEXAS

Klein writes that President Obama "ran an exquisite operation" to find and kill bin Laden. There is a huge distinction between authorizing an operation and running it. Those of us who have served in the military and participated in high-risk operations are perhaps more acutely aware of the distinction than those who have not. By authorizing the operation, Obama made a tough, bold decision with momentous consequences, and he deserves credit for hav-

ing made the call. The operation was run, however, by the Navy SEALs. Ask the men who entered the compound who ran the operation that night and in the months leading up to it. I doubt they will answer "President Obama."

William Espino, CARLSBAD, CALIF.

The Lessons of Terror

In "A Long Time Going," Peter Bergen states, "The jihadists will be mindful that their world has passed them by" [May 20]. Though bin Laden may be buried in seawater, the snake still lives submerged in its cave. One thing we must keep in mind at all times: while it took the U.S. 10 years to establish bin Laden's whereabouts and get him in the crosshairs, consider the years of planning that went into the execution of the first lethal strikes of Sept. 11, 2001. Bin Laden's line of succession may not be immediately apparent, but if we underestimate the resiliency of radical Islam to regenerate over time, we will be condemned to repeat history.

Norman Singer, CARY, N.C.

Jack Bauer's Legacy

Thanks for the article by James Poniewozik reminding us of the epic TV show 24 and its inimitable terrorist-fighting hero, Jack Bauer [Tuned In, May 20]. In 2008 I went into a voting booth with a dilemma. I didn't want to vote for John McCain, whom I had disliked for years. And I certainly wasn't about to vote for the left-wing Democrat Obama. There was space for a write-in, so I voted for Bauer. I have never been sorry.

Brian Saint-Yves, PHOENIX

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Briefing

‘We will sit here. We call it a fight until the end.’

1. RAMI MAKHLOUF, Syrian tycoon and cousin of President Bashar Assad, on the ruling family’s determination to stay in power despite widespread protests across Syria; the E.U. imposed sanctions on Makhlof and 12 other Syrians on May 10

‘It is still the intention of the President, and it is still my intention, to close the facility that exists in Guantánamo.’

2. ERIC HOLDER, U.S. Attorney General, on whether the death of Osama bin Laden would affect the Administration’s pledge to shutter the detention camp

‘Graceland is safe. And we would charge hell with a water pistol to keep it that way, and I’d be willing to lead the charge.’

3. BOB NATIONS JR., director of the Shelby County Office of Preparedness in Tennessee; the swollen Mississippi River crested in Memphis at nearly 48 ft. (15 m) on May 10—almost a record

‘I am somewhat sheepishly concerned that it was my preventing one of my early spring allergic coughs.’

4. HILLARY CLINTON, U.S. Secretary of State, on the now famous photo of her alongside President Obama and others in the White House Situation Room as they watched the attack on bin Laden’s compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan

‘Daddy, you’re so handsome.’

5. DALLAS WIENS, the first person in the U.S. to receive a full face transplant, recounting at a press conference what his young daughter Scarlette told him when she laid eyes on him after his March operation



25

Years that Norberto Gonzalez-Claudio, arrested in Puerto Rico by the FBI on May 10, had been on the lam; he was wanted for taking part in a 1983 robbery of \$7 million

15

Number of U.S. states that, along with Amtrak, will receive a share of the \$2 billion intended for Florida before it canceled its plans for high-speed trains



7.5 MILLION

Approximate number of U.S. Facebook users under 13—the minimum age to register for the site—according to *Consumer Reports*; some 5 million of those are under 10

9.3 BILLION

Projected world population by 2050, according to a recent U.N. report; the world’s current population is nearly 7 billion

Briefing

Closeup

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5/10/11

Kampala

WE'RE USED TO PROTEST movements that come in colors—the yellow of people power in the Philippines, Ukraine's orange, the green of Brazil's invaded demarcations. We're less accustomed to seeing protests quashed with color. But in Uganda, security forces sprayed opposition leaders and activists with a vivid pink dye—a mark intended both to humiliate dissidents and make it easier for police to nab them. It's a tactic once deployed by South Africa's apartheid state, except in that case the hue of choice was purple. Weeks of disturbances in the Ugandan capital over soaring fuel prices and the perceived corruption of the ruling regime seem to mirror the uprisings in the Arab world. With dozens dead or injured, the real color of protest is not pink but blood red. —SHAHAN THABROK

World



The Italian coast guard intercepts a ship of migrants on May 8

From a War Zone to a Watery End

LIBYA A boat carrying 600 African migrants fleeing war-ravaged Libya capsized en route to Europe; at least a third of those on board were presumed dead by U.N. officials. It was the latest in a series of maritime tragedies. Refugee groups say hundreds of migrants who crammed into poorly equipped vessels have drowned while attempting the Mediterranean crossing in recent weeks. As NATO ramped up its aerial bombardment of the Libyan capital, Tripoli, relief agencies warned of a growing humanitarian crisis in the country, with conditions particularly desperate in the besieged rebel-held port of Misratah. Close to a million people, both locals and migrants, have fled Libya since the fighting started.

World by the Numbers

85%
U.S. Percentage of
U.S. college students
who are moving
back home after
graduation, according
to a new survey

126

FRANCE Years that the mummified head of a Maori warrior was kept in a French museum; it was returned to New Zealand officials May 9.

4 U.K.: Number of beehives stolen from a lab in a Scottish university; the project researching bees cost about \$2.2 million.

\$20,200
JAPAN Monthly salary of Prime Minister Naoto Kan, which he says he will forfeit until his country's nuclear crisis is over.

SAMOA
Hours after
clocks in the
Pacific nation will
jump forward in
December when it
crosses to the east
of the international
dateline

Taliban Launches a Spring Offensive

AFGHANISTAN Following an audacious jailbreak earlier this month that sprung about 500 comrades, Taliban insurgents staged a 30-hour series of attacks in Kandahar. A group of 27 attackers killed at least two security officers and one civilian before being arrested or slain. While the death toll was relatively low, the attack illustrated the confidence and capability of the Taliban despite NATO's efforts to try to break the insurgency. Meanwhile, in a province near Kabul, hundreds of Taliban fighters attacked Afghan police checkpoints but were fought off by government forces.



An Afghan officer returns fire from attacking Taliban fighters.

Sanctions Do Little

SYRIA Following the bloody repression of several protests in several cities, the E.U. placed sanctions on 13 high-ranking officials in the regime of President Bashar Assad. These include Assad's younger brother Maher, who heads the feared Presidential Guard, as well as other prominent family members and allies directly implicated in a crackdown that has led to hundreds or perhaps thousands of deaths. The sanctions impose travel bans on the officials and freeze their assets in the E.U. but so far appear to have done little to stem the Assad regime's onslaught against dissidents. Security forces shelled the city of Homs and continued to seal off the battered border town of Dara'a and the port city of Baniyas, where, according to rights groups, hundreds of dissidents were penned for days in an open-air soccer stadium. The government says it is fighting armed Islamists, but many ordinary Syrians are exasperated with their lack of political freedoms as well as the cronyism that has come to define the regime.



The Army Takes Out the Trash

ITALY Fury and embarrassment over as much as 4,100 tons of rotting waste on the streets of Naples (above) prompted Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi to send in troops to clean up the mess. This is the second time since 2008 that such an intervention has been necessary in the southern city, where a combination of poor infrastructure, sclerotic bureaucracy and the shadowy influence of the Camorra Mafia over local politics has spawned the bizarre garbage crisis.

Iran Goes Nuclear, Starts Up a Power Plant

IRAN The Bushehr nuclear plant began operations May 8, an alarming landmark for Western nations that believe Tehran aims to make weapons. But within Iran, nuclear politics has taken a backseat to domestic infighting: the plant came to life as President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad sparred with Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei over Cabinet appointments. Open dissent against Khamenei is rare, but the President seems to have survived.

The Bushehr plant's sputtering history

1974 Construction begins with the help of German contractors and French scientists

1979 After the fall of the Shah during the Islamic revolution, the project is halted

1980-88 During the Iran-Iraq war, the plant site is damaged and much of the equipment looted



Floods, Landslides Follow Epic Rains

COLOMBIA As though it were living a surreal tale by the nation's literary hero Gabriel García Márquez, Colombia has faced 11 months of seemingly endless rainfall. The government expects the country's 2011 GDP to shrink at least 2.5% because swollen rivers have inundated communities, cattle ranches and croplands in 28 of the country's 32 provinces. Waterlogged Andean mountainsides have collapsed. More than 1,000 people have been killed, been injured or gone missing, and more than 3 million have lost their homes or livelihoods. President Juan Manuel Santos recently likened the rains to "Chinese water torture," describing them as the worst natural disaster in the country's history.



A man wades through a town in southern Colombia



Copts in Cairo protest the attacks

Sectarian Tensions Flare

Egypt At least 12 people were killed and more than 200 injured in a new spasm of sectarian violence in Cairo. A mob of orthodox Salafist Muslims, apparently roused by false reports that a woman who had converted to Islam was being held against her will in a church, torched two Coptic churches and triggered a series of street battles with Coptic Christians. The violence has exposed the religious tensions that remain in Egypt despite the stirring scenes of national unity during the uprising against former dictator Hosni Mubarak. The Copts form a tenth of Egypt's population and are one of the biggest religious minorities in the Muslim world, but many fear Egypt's move toward democracy may afford religious extremists a greater role in the political life of the country.

JUNE 2010 A computer virus, Stuxnet, hits Iran's uranium-enrichment site, impeding the program several times

AUGUST 2010 At a press event, Iran begins loading fuel sent from Russia, which took over the venture in the '90s



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Nation



The Big Questions

By Mark Halperin

Where's the momentum for a deal on deficit reduction?

The floating summertime deadline for Congress to approve an increase in the U.S. debt limit (or else face default) is energizing both parties but not yet bringing them closer to a deal. A group of three Democratic and three Republican Senators is trying to hammer out a solution involving spending cuts, entitlement reform and tax increases. Meanwhile, a man who knows how to navigate the GOP back channels—Vice President Joe Biden—is now hip-deep in those waters.

What are the biggest obstacles? As long as Republicans stick to their "No new taxes" mantra, a deal is impossible. And Speaker of the House John Boehner's demand for trillions in spending cuts to match any increase in the debt ceiling is unhelpful in the extreme. Even if a compromise can be found, White House officials worry that rank-and-file House GOP hard-liners could well vote down the package anyway, creating the kind of political disarray and global anxiety that Obama, most Republican leaders and the financial markets want to avoid.

What happens if there is no deal? Unfathomable. But it is equally difficult to imagine how a deal might be reached, given the current divide. Republicans are sticking to the debatable notion that the business world would rather see Washington achieve significant deficit reduction than meet the deadline for default. If there is no way to reach an agreement that gives both sides something to brag about, the two parties will have to find a face-saving way to keep the Treasury from defaulting on its securities—and fight it out again later this year.

SAME-SEX MARRIAGE

Aye, Aye: Heading Congress, Navy Reverses Course

The Navy has always prided itself on command at sea, where a captain's word is law and there is no court of appeals. But the admiralty has often found that this tradition doesn't apply on the shoals of Capitol Hill.

On April 13, the Navy's top chaplain, Rear Admiral Mark Tidd, sent a memo to his fellow chaplains declaring that the service would conduct same-sex marriages and civil unions on military bases once the Pentagon implemented the repeal of "Don't ask, don't tell," which President Obama signed into law in December.

Capitol Hill Republicans considered the memo a depth charge. Representative Todd Akin of Missouri rounded up 62 fellow opponents and fired a broadside at Navy Secretary Ray Mabus, demanding to know how his service could ignore the federal Defense of Marriage Act, which limits marriage to heterosexual couples. "We

find it difficult to understand," they wrote, "how the military is somehow exempt from abiding by federal law." It's one thing, the lawmakers implied, to be forced to accept openly gay men and women in uniform, and it's quite another for the service to embrace the idea of a pair of newlywed male sailors walking out of a Navy chapel under an archway of swords. Akin's chairmanship of the House's influential Seapower Subcommittee increased the stakes, suggesting that the Navy's cherished shipbuilding plans could be at risk.

Mabus got the message. On May 10, about 24 hours after Tidd's original memo surfaced, the Navy retreated, at least for now. Tidd issued a terse follow-up, saying his earlier missive was being "suspended until further notice pending additional legal and policy review." Tidd, chief of the Navy's 844 chaplains, has master's degrees in divinity, theology and national-security strategy. He's now being educated in politics.

The Navy, it seems, had jumped the gun by unilaterally deciding how to handle the delicate social issue before the Army, the Air Force and the rest of the Pentagon had figured out how to do so.

That decision is likely to be weeks off, if not months, which means no civil unions in Navy chapels for now. —MARK THOMPSON



The chief of Navy chaplains was ready for gay marriages

844

Number of
chaplains in
the U.S. Navy



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POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS OF LIPITOR

Serious side effects in a small number of people:

- Muscle problems that can lead to kidney problems, including kidney failure. Your chance for muscle problems is higher if you take certain other medicines with LIPITOR.
- Liver problems. Your doctor may do blood tests to check your liver before you start LIPITOR and while you are taking it.

Call your doctor right away if you have:

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- Your skin and the whites of your eyes turn yellow
- Allergic skin reactions

Common side effects of LIPITOR are:

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| • Diarrhea | • Muscle and joint pain |
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- Try to eat heart-healthy foods while you take LIPITOR.
- Take LIPITOR at any time of day, with or without food.
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Don't:

- Do not change or stop your dose before talking to your doctor.
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MPMON079672

Economy

In the Hole. Size matters, but so does who's holding a country's national debt

Government debt levels have spiked since the global financial crisis. But not all debt is created equal. Eighty percent of the debt of Portugal, recently bailed out by the International Monetary Fund and the E.U., is held outside its borders, much of it in Germany, France and the U.K. That matters. When there are problems, foreign investors are much more likely to sell, causing interest rates to spike and making it more difficult for a country to meet its obligations. What's more, foreign investors are particularly sensitive to inflation. So Germany and France—which, like Portugal, use the euro—would be unlikely to agree to devalue their common currency. That's one reason Japan, for instance, isn't a strong candidate for default (not yet, anyway), despite its very high debt level. Almost all of it is owned internally. —JOSH SANBURN

GOVERNMENT DEBT AND PORTION OF IT THAT IS FOREIGN-OWNED



Note: Default risks are based on Moody's credit ratings.

Sources: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development; RBC Capital Markets; Moody's Investors Service

INDICATORS

IPO SOS. High-profile deals spell trouble

Initial public offerings have signaled market tops. Investors take note. In May, Glencore, the world's largest commodities trader, said it would go public.

MAY 5, 2011

-9%

One-day drop in commodities after Glencore announces offering

2009

-56%

Drop in private equity deals one year after Blackstone IPO

CLEANUP

Payback. The U.S. sues Deutsche Bank over mortgages

Prosecutors have had a hard time nailing Wall Street for creating the financial crisis. That may be changing. In early May, the U.S. sued Deutsche Bank for allegedly tricking a government insurance program into backing lousy mortgage loans. Many defaulted, causing nearly \$400 million in losses. In retribution, the government wants Deutsche to pay three times that in damages. Unlike earlier cases against Wall Street, the fraud Deutsche is alleged to have committed, in which it said it properly vetted loans when it didn't, was more widespread during the financial crisis. The Federal Housing Administration loan program, which, according to the suit, Deutsche duped, paid \$1.4 billion in claims in fiscal year 2010. Not all of that was the result of fraud. But a recent review by HUD of nearly 300 FHA loans made by 15 lenders found that nearly half of those loans violated program guidelines. —STEPHEN GANDEL

THE SCIENCE BEHIND THE MAGIC OF DEER PARK®

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ONCE UPON A TIME IN A RAIN CLOUD

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Quint's Beverage Lifecycle™

NAPCOR 2008 Report on Postconsumer PET
container recycling activity

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PREPARING FOR THE JOURNEY TO YOU

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Deer Park 5L bottle
uses 38% less plastic
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Calculated from data provided in Franklin Associates (2010), Final Report: Life-Cycle Inventory of 100% Postconsumer HOPE and PET Recycled Resin from Postconsumer Containers and Packaging And US Environmental Protection Agency Greenhouse Gas Equivalencies Calculator, March 2010.

Health & Science



Elijah Archibald of El Sobrante, Calif.—photographed at age 7 in 2009—has autism

Not So Rare. A landmark new study indicates that autism may be surprisingly widespread

By Bryan Walsh

WHILE DEVASTATING FOR SEVERELY AFFLICTED CHILDREN AND THEIR families, autism has long been assumed to be relatively uncommon, appearing in perhaps 1% of all kids. But that figure was a rough estimate at best, based largely on the population of children who have already received a diagnosis of the disorder. Discovering the true prevalence of autism would require a large-scale study of an entire population—not just those who showed up at a doctor's office.

That's exactly what a team of U.S. and South Korean researchers, led by Dr. Young Shin Kim at Yale School of Medicine, did in a six-year research project—with startling results. The researchers sought to screen every child age 7 to 12 in the Ilsan district of Goyang, South Korea. In their sample of 55,266 children, scientists found that the rate of autism spectrum disorders (ASD) was 2.64%. That's one case for every 38 kids, a rate much higher than the 1-in-10 estimate in the U.S. While those numbers sound scary, the results don't mean there has been a sudden spike in autism. Rather, they simply reflect a more comprehensive collection of data. "These children didn't just show up overnight," Kim says. "They have been there all along. We just didn't count them."

To ensure that they identified every case, Kim's team sent a 27-item questionnaire to all the parents and teachers of elementary-school children in Ilsan. The questions were designed to flag kids with potential social or developmental delays typical of ASD. Those children were then evaluated for a possible diagnosis. Most cases of ASD caught by the study were among students in regular schools who had not been previously treated for mental-health problems; they were mostly high-functioning children. "Now we know there are kids with social problems who are not being treated, and we know how to help them," says Kim. Better screening means earlier treatment and fewer kids who slip through the cracks.

BRAIN INJURY

Rating the Safety of Football Helmets

Concussions have become a major problem for football, from the high school level to the National Football League. Recent studies have shown that retired NFL players who suffered multiple concussions exhibited dementia-like brain damage associated with high rates of depression, suicidal tendencies and memory loss. Studies also show that former NFL players as a whole have higher than usual rates of Alzheimer's disease.

Yet there has been little regulation of the one piece of equipment meant to protect a player from concussion: the football helmet. Thanks to researchers at Virginia Tech, however, that's beginning to change. A team of engineers put together a system to rate football helmets on their ability to reduce the risk of concussion. The scores—from zero to five stars—are based on eight years of data and the analysis of more than 1 million measured helmet impacts.

The bad news is that just one helmet—the Riddell Revolution Speed—earned the top five-star grade, while the Riddell VSR4 helmet, which is used by many pro players, received a paltry one-star rating. —B.W.



ENERGY

Dangers of Shale Gas Drilling

For years, environmentalists and energy companies have fought over hydro-fracking, the process used to access shale natural gas. Greens say drilling can contaminate groundwater, while gas companies insist that's impossible. Score one for the greens: a recent study showed that methane levels in water wells near fracking operations were 17 times as high as those in wells unaffected by drilling. Methane, the chief component of natural gas, poses an explosion risk at high levels but doesn't carry a known health risk. —B.W.

VITAL SIGNS

90%

Greater likelihood of cancer diagnosis among gay men compared with straight men in a survey of 120,000 Californians. The data suggest that better cancer-screening programs are needed for the gay community



Milestones



DIED

Arthur Laurents

By Patti LuPone

The first time I met Arthur, he had come backstage to tell me he liked my performance in *Sunset Boulevard*. And he made a point of telling me that he never came backstage. When I eventually worked with him on *Gypsy*, he allowed me to interpret my character in a way that was different from past interpretations. Arthur really trusted his actors, and he became unbelievably joyous in watching them develop and come to own their roles. Ego was replaced with an enthusiasm to discover and rediscover. *Gypsy* was 50 years old and he knew it like the back of his hand, but it was a brand-new experience for him nonetheless.

The stories about me being banned from his shows are true. I accepted a role in *Jolson Sings Again* but later turned down the offer. Arthur called and yelled at me and told me I had sunk his play. I was crying at the end. But when we started working on *Gypsy* years later, it was all in the past. He said he didn't remember it. And fine! I didn't want to remember it either.

Arthur, who died May 5 at 93, was a front runner in American musical theater. He'll be remembered for his daringness. Political correctness and fear sometimes hamper art. There's a lot of that today. But Arthur had something to say, and by God, he was going to say it.

DIED

Seve Ballesteros

Most golfers try to avoid hazards. Seve Ballesteros seemed drawn to them. It's as if the game would've been boring for him otherwise. But no matter where his ball landed, he always seemed to find a way out. The Spanish escape artist emerged onto the scene in 1976 when he tied for second at the British Open. He was only 19. Four years later, he became the youngest player to win the Masters (until Tiger Woods) and went on to win four more majors and a record 50 European events. Europe's first true golf star, he led the continent to its first Ryder Cup victory in the U.S. in 1987. But it was Ballesteros' charisma and creativity that won him fans, many of whom were shocked by the 2008 announcement that he had a brain tumor. At the funeral for Ballesteros, who died May 7 at 54, children held 3-irons, the first club he learned to play with as a boy.

—JOSH SANBURN

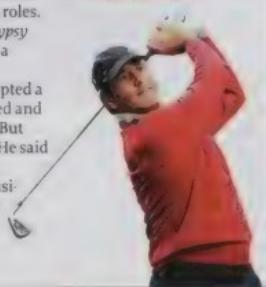


ACQUIRED Skype

Microsoft was a late arrival to this thing called the Internet. And it seems the company has never ceased playing catch-up in its efforts to close the gap with Google, Apple and Facebook. Microsoft's announcement that it is buying Skype—the voice-over-internet-protocol provider—for \$8.5 billion in cash is its most expensive effort to reduce that gap.

With the Skype acquisition, Microsoft will have a bigger part in the multichannel, multi-platform world in which we live. Think of Skype as a giant switchboard for the company, which will now be able to plug users in to all kinds of Microsoft devices. Yet, it is paying a premium for a business that isn't profitable. But given that Microsoft has about \$50 billion in cash on hand, the purchase is one it can easily absorb.

—BILL SAPORITO



DIED

Claude Choules, World War I's last known combat veteran, at 110; he later became a pacifist and refused to march in parades that commemorated war.

SEPARATED

Arnold Schwarzenegger and Maria Shriver, after 25 years of marriage and four months after the end of Schwarzenegger's two terms as California governor.



DEPARTING

Meredith Vieira, Nobel laureate and inventor of the "digital eye" that is part of virtually every camcorder, digital camera and telescope used today; he was 86.

DIED

Willard Boyle, Nobel laureate and inventor of the "digital eye" that is part of virtually every camcorder, digital camera and telescope used today; he was 86.

CONVICTED

Raj Rajaratnam, who ran one of the world's largest hedge funds, on 14 charges of fraud and conspiracy in a trial central to the Federal crackdown on insider trading.

DIED

Belgian cyclist Wouter Weylandt, 26, while competing in the 2.18-mile (3,523 km) Giro d'Italia bike race; it was the Italian event's first fatality in 25 years.

Rana Foroohar



The 100% Solution

Women still earn less than men. But equal pay will make us all richer

YOU'VE GOT TO GIVE DONALD Trump credit: he's everywhere, and everywhere he goes, he manages to offend in new and different ways. Take his quotes in the latest book by MSNBC *Morning Joe* co-host Mika Brzezinski, *Knowing Your Value: Women, Money, and Getting What You're Worth*. When asked about hiring working moms, the Donald replies skeptically. "She's not giving me 100%. She's giving me 84%, and 16% is going towards taking care of children."

As a single working mother of two, I take exception to that attitude. But more than that. The main topic of Brezinski's book is the wage gap. Four decades after women entered the U.S. workforce en masse, a woman still makes 77¢ for every dollar earned by a man. Some of this gap is due to women's choosing lower-paying and more portable careers in order to support a spouse or allow for more time to care for children or elders. But about 40% of it can't be explained away.

So when women choose the power

track, what is holding them back? Brzezinski believes they simply don't know their own worth. Women, she says, don't take the time to research what male colleagues are making and demand the same; they expect, in a good-girl way, employers to be fair about pay; they worry that people won't like them if they negotiate too hard; they get too emotional or apologetic when asking for the money they deserve; and they don't jump as quickly as men do at new opportunities.

We all know women of whom such things could be said, though I certainly know plenty who advocate for themselves as aggressively as any man. (In fact, the book is filled with them, from media maven Arianna Huffington to Yahoo! CEO

Carol Bartz.) While Brzezinski makes some valid points, the wage gap is an economic issue that, like so many others today, is bifurcated. Age and education matter a lot. In some major urban areas, young college-educated women are actually ahead of their male peers in pay. "If you walk down the streets of Manhattan, London or Stockholm," says Boston Consulting Group (BCG) senior partner Michael Silverstein, "and you ask 100 single men



and women between the ages of 25 and 30 what they make, the women will make more." He believes this is the beginning of a generational shift that will snowball as older women retire and younger women, who started out with equal education and more pay parity, rise through the ranks.

Indeed, a number of economists believe that the average woman in the U.S. and Western Europe will outearn her male peers by 2024. That's because they are better educated and are entering the workforce in greater numbers and in the fastest-growing industries. BCG estimates that women will earn the majority—some \$5 trillion—of the world's new income over the next five years. No wonder banks like Goldman Sachs are starting to rate in

dustries according to how much of the female dollar they are poised to capture. Merrill Lynch recently went "long on women" and companies targeting female consumers, noting that it expected women to "increasingly become the higher-income earners of U.S. households."

When they come, the gains won't be distributed equally. One of the most compelling parts of Brzezinski's book is a chapter titled "Motherhood: The Game Changer." The wage gap is largest for working moms. Research shows their earnings decrease for each child they have. In one study by Cornell University, participants were asked to evaluate the résumés of two equally qualified job candidates, one a mother, the other not. Mothers were consistently ranked as less competent and were offered on average \$1,000 less in pay.

Which amazes me, since most of the working mothers I know are among the most productive people on the planet. Forget about the Donald and his imaginary 84%; many working mothers are so grateful to be employed and so worried about the perception that they might be less than 100% committed that they overwork themselves.

(A CEO once confessed to me that he loved to hire them for this very reason.) They are the ones keeping the number of useless meetings to a minimum in a relentless effort to be home for dinner. I have always been struck by how much working moms resemble Germans. They toil diligently and efficiently from 9 to 6. Then they go home. Germany, it should be noted, has higher productivity and a faster-growing economy than the U.S., proving that you don't have to be in the office 24/7 to get the job done. Perhaps rather than being the laggards described by the Donald, working moms are actually at the vanguard of a smarter way to work. Paying them what they're worth could end up making us all richer.

Joe Klein



To read Joe's
blog posts, go to
[time.com/
swampland](http://time.com/swampland)

Why Obama's Not a Lock. He's vulnerable when Republicans stop talking nonsense and turn to the economy

THE MOST TELLING MOMENT IN Barack Obama's *60 Minutes* interview came when Steve Kroft asked for his reaction after he saw the photo of Osama bin Laden, shot in the head. "It was him," the President said. And that was all he said. Now, this was a classic TV how-did-you-feel question, and Obama had a range of possible options. He could have gone all political, "I thought of the families who had lost loved ones..." Or graphic, "Well, it was pretty ugly, but..." Or excited, "Oh, My God." Or religious, "Thank God." Or triumphal, "My first thought, actually, Steve, was 'Hasta la vista, baby.'" But, of course, this is Barack Obama, more Gregory Peck than John Wayne. And the same taciturn, hyperdisciplined quality that is so frustrating when he seems unable to connect with the economic anguish of the American people came across as just right, perfectly Midwestern—Kansas, not Hawaii, much less Kenya.

A few days earlier, five of the Republican candidates for President gathered in South Carolina for their first official debate. It was a weird show, newsworthy only because Congressman Ron Paul came out in favor of legalizing heroin, cocaine and prostitution. Many of the more serious (Mitt Romney, Mitch Daniels, Newt Gingrich) and less serious (Donald Trump, Sarah Palin, Newt Gingrich) Republican candidates weren't there—and so it would be unfair to compare the Republican puntyness with the massive presidentiality of Obama during his strongest week.

Three relevant observations can be made, however. First, Paul's willingness to go off to the libertarian deep end, without a blink, says something about the ideological extremism that has overwhelmed the Republicans in recent years. Paul is

certainly further out than most, but all sorts of loony notions have become accepted wisdom in the Republican Party—about taxation, about the science of climate change, about the utter perfection of markets. Which leads to the second observation: even the serious Republican candidates aren't very. Romney refuses to take credit for his greatest accomplishment as governor of Massachusetts—a universal health care plan that works.



There are grounds to hope that Indiana's Governor Daniels and former Utah governor Jon Huntsman will not make fools of themselves, but it is hard to imagine either of them prospering by challenging the conventional Limbaugh wisdom of the party, and Daniels has already gotten into trouble by proposing that there should be a truce on "social issues" like abortion and homosexuality.

But my third reaction to the Republican debate cuts in the opposite direction. By depriving the Republicans of the birth certificate and tough-on-terrorism issues in a single week, Obama may ultimately force them to spend most of their time discussing the weakest point of his presidency: the economy. My colleague Mark

Halperin has observed that when Trump talks about something other than the President's birth certificate (or himself), he strikes some very resonant chords. He wants to slap tariffs on the Chinese, and he's mad as hell about gasoline prices (and wants to seize the Iraqi oil fields). This is the other side of the President's reserve: he won't demagogue those issues, or even talk about them very much.

I came into presidential politics with Jimmy Carter, and I'll never forget his staff's derision of a certain washed-up actor-extremist from California named Ronald Reagan. Similarly, I remember the Democratic Party's despair in 1992, especially after Bill Clinton was linked, lubriciously, to a lounge singer named Jennifer Flowers. Carter had brought Israel and Egypt together. George H.W. Bush had beaten Saddam Hussein and retaken Kuwait; his popularity rating stood at 90%. But both Carter and Bush were beaten by a bum economy.

Obama could lose too, even to someone who seems silly to frosty opinionators like me. He could lose if he keeps playing on the Republican field—deficits—rather than in the arena preferred by most Americans: the sputtering economy. He needs some big, new, easy-to-understand economic initiatives. He could lose if he doesn't remind the public that he cut their taxes, as promised, and their Medicare drug bills. He also has to prove that, despite the bailouts, he's not Wall Street's sucker.

There is a grand history of populist loudmouths like Trump making an early impression in presidential campaigns: Pat Buchanan, Pat Robertson and Howard Dean all had their moments. And so did John McCain, who lost his shot in 2008 when the financial crisis came and he didn't know how to react. Obama was calm under fire then, and ever since. It is why he's likely to be re-elected: we prefer Presidents who are adults over those who are angry. But he is certainly not a lock.

WHO CONTROLS THE MIGHTY RIVER?

An aerial photograph showing a vast area of brown floodwater covering what appears to be a football field or large sports complex. Several small, isolated green bushes are visible through the water, and faint outlines of structures can be seen in the distance under a hazy sky.

Water, water everywhere The scoreboard of a Memphis athletic field is still visible; the river crested at close to 48 ft. (14.6 m)

Photograph by Jeff Robertson—AP



**WE DO. FOR NOW.
BUT WE'RE NOT
MAKING IT EASY**

By Michael Grunwald

Mark Twain, the bard of the Mississippi River,

was always skeptical of human efforts to control it. "Ten thousand river commissions, with the mines of the world at their back, cannot tame that lawless stream, cannot curb it or confine it, cannot say to it, 'Go here,' or 'Go there,' and make it obey," he wrote in 1883. Twain genuinely admired "the West Point engineers" who dreamed of caging the beast. He truly wanted to believe their confident pronouncements "that they can fetter and handcuff that river and boss him." But a life along the river convinced him that they "might as well bully the comets in their courses and undertake to make them behave, as try to bully the Mississippi into right and reasonable conduct."

More than a century later, as the beast wreaks havoc yet again, drowning farms and towns in its natural floodplain, forcing those gung-ho Army engineers to blow up levees and fling open floodgates to try to relieve its rage, it is clear that Twain

was right. And also that Twain was wrong.

It turns out that Twain underestimated the ability of the Army to confine the Mississippi with earthen levees and federal dollars. In the flood of 2011, the engineers have fought the river to a heroic standoff, holding back a wall of water that would fill 25 Olympic-size swimming pools every second. Their mainline levees along the Mississippi have held firm. Most of the damage has come from backwater flooding where smaller tributaries have mutinied against their banks. The engineers sacrificed 130,000 acres (53,000 hectares) of farmland in a Missouri floodway, and they'll sacrifice more in a Louisiana spillway, but that was always their plan for a flood this scary.

"The system is under the most stress it's been under since it was designed," says Army Corps of Engineers spokesman Bob Anderson. "And so far, it's working."

But if human beings are winning this battle against the river, a proposition that some waterlogged communities might dispute, we're losing the war. It's not just bad luck that the modern Mississippi seems to have a 100-year flood every few years. It's not a coincidence that flood damage has been soaring for decades. It's because

of what we've done to the river, to the floodplain and maybe to the climate. This flood may turn out to be a run-of-the-mill disaster rather than an epic disaster, but as Twain always understood, Mother Nature eventually gets the last word. "We're having disasters just about every year," says Robert Criss, a hydrogeologist at Washington University in St. Louis. "We like to think we control the river, but who's really in control?"

Twain's hometown, Hannibal, Mo., illustrates how flood fighting has become an almost annual Midwestern pastime. In a 2008 paper, Criss showed that in the previous 25 years, Hannibal had endured 10 floods at levels the Army Corps of Engineers expected only once a decade, including one 500-year flood and one 200-year flood. If that sounds like a fluke, Hannibal had to fend off another 10-year flood in 2009. And another in 2010. And now this.

Water Has to Go Somewhere

THE MISSISSIPPI IS A REALLY BIG RIVER system. Its watershed covers two-fifths of the continental U.S., draining all or part of 31 states. In its natural state, it rambled across that floodplain every spring,



Canal Street James Dunn and his grandson Caleb take a paddleboat ride down a flooded street in Metropolis, Ill.

nourishing wetlands and recharging aquifers before drifting back to its channel. And it had a really broad channel, nearly a mile (1.6 km) wide at St. Louis when an Army engineer named Robert E. Lee mapped it in 1837. Today the Mississippi is a vibrant liquid highway with great cities along its banks and an agricultural empire in its basin. It doesn't ramble anymore. But all that water still has to go somewhere.

The straitjacketing of the Mississippi began with an obnoxious Army engineer named Andrew Humphreys, who lost 3,000 soldiers in the charge at Fredericksburg and later marveled, "I felt more like a god than a man!" He applied the same hubris to the river, enforcing a "levees only" policy that began cutting it off from its floodplain and squeezing it into a narrower channel. Today the Mississippi at St. Louis is less than half as wide as it was in Lee's day. Unfortunately, when more water has to stay in the tub and the walls of the tub move closer together, the water rises. In 1927, as the historian John Barry chronicled in *Rising Tide*, the river overwhelmed the patchwork of local levees that had sprouted along its banks, leaving a million people homeless and 16 million acres (6.5 million hectares) underwater.

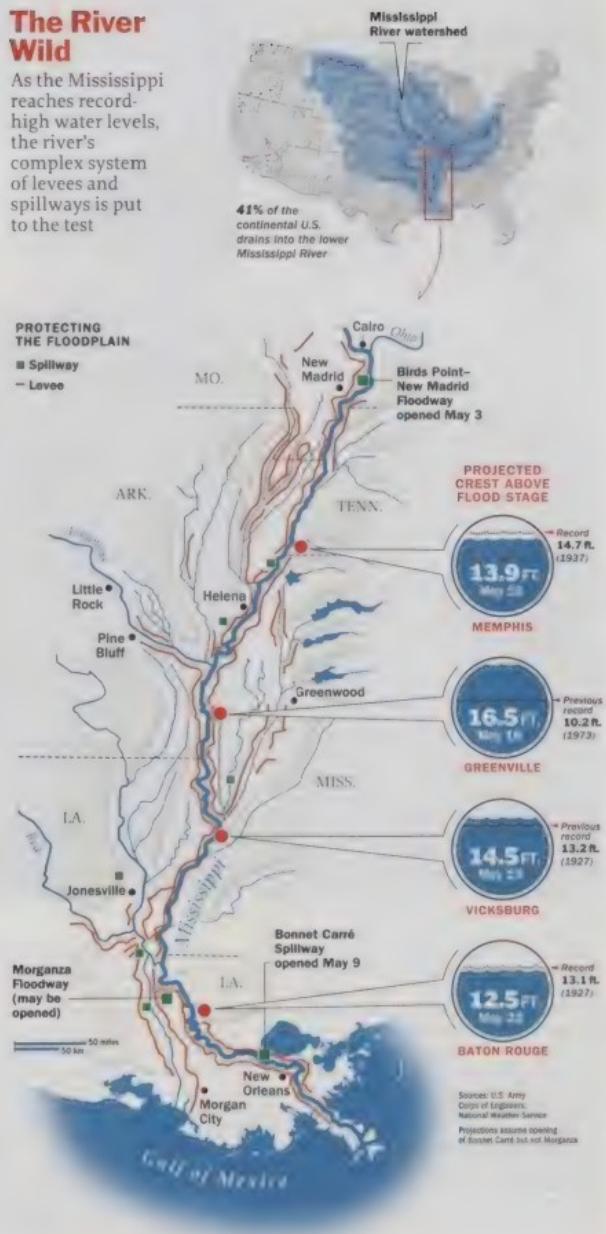
After the deluge, the Army Corps devised a new plan that's still in place. It's a much better plan, providing much better protection. But it's also helped usher in an era of ever-worsening floods that keep testing its defenses.

The new plan still relied on levees, but the corps took over responsibility for building them all along the river, so that poor towns and absentee landowners would no longer be weak links. These massive levees have kept the floodplain much drier. But their effectiveness has had perverse consequences, reducing the small levee failures in rural areas that once served as involuntary relief valves for the river in flood. Bigger and better levees have also attracted more intense agriculture and development in the floodplains behind them, so there's much more in harm's way. And the conversion of wetlands and prairies into tile-drained farms and asphalt exurbia has increased and accelerated the runoff pouring into the river and its tributaries, diverting even more water into the tub.

Meanwhile, there is mounting evidence that wing dikes, jetties and other river-training structures that the corps builds to aid navigation are raising flood levels as well. For example, Nicholas Pinter, a geomorphologist at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, has concluded from

The River Wild

As the Mississippi reaches record-high water levels, the river's complex system of levees and spillways is put to the test



'THE SYSTEM IS UNDER THE MOST STRESS IT'S BEEN UNDER SINCE IT WAS DESIGNED. AND SO FAR, IT'S WORKING.'

Bob Anderson,
Army Corps of Engineers

historical data that navigation structures have elevated floods by about 8 ft. (2.4 m) near the small town of Olive Branch, Ill. The corps has rejected Pinter's research, but Olive Branch's levee was overtopped this month. "Floods wouldn't create the kind of damages we keep seeing without the changes that humans keep making to the system," Pinter says.

Finally, there's been a rapid increase in the frequency and intensity of unusual rain events, like the record Ohio Valley storms that drove the current flood. This increase could be a symptom of global warming, although there's not yet proof; some experts call it "global weirding." But it's dumping still more water into the tub.

Fortunately, the post-1927 plan went beyond levees. The corps also designed emergency measures to give the river room to spread out, including a plan to dynamite the Birds Point levee in Missouri in case high waters threatened Cairo, Ill., and to open several Louisiana relief valves to protect New Orleans. That foresight is paying off. The corps has just flooded the floodway behind Birds Point for the first time since 1937, easing the pressure on Cairo. "I don't have to like it, but we must use everything we have in our possession to prevent a more catastrophic event," Major General Michael Walsh wrote in his May 2 order approving the Birds Point blast.

Farmers in the floodway are suing the corps for damaging their property, as if their federally subsidized corn and soy beans in a federally protected floodplain would have survived had nature had her way. But the Birds Point plan was not a secret. They knew their land was in a designated floodway. And the Mississippi is no longer a natural river; it's a managed river. The Army engineers can't always bully



it into right and reasonable conduct, but they don't want nature to have her way.

Retreat from the River

THE MAINLINE MISSISSIPPI LEVEES THAT protect cities like New Orleans were built to withstand a "project design flood," essentially the worst the Army engineers could imagine. And the corps is about to use its Morganza Floodway for the first time since 1973, providing even more protection for the Big Easy. By contrast, the hurricane-protection design for New Orleans was based on a serious but not apocalyptic storm; it still failed during

Hurricane Katrina, which wasn't even that serious by the time it reached the city. In fact, the levees along the Mississippi have made New Orleans even more vulnerable to storms from the Gulf of Mexico; by starving the river of sediment, the levees delivered less dirt to its delta, which has led to the disappearance of the coastal wetlands that once provided southern Louisiana's natural hurricane protection.

The metronomic recurrences of damaging 100-year floods may foreshadow a day of reckoning on the river as well. Jeffrey Mount, a geomorphologist at the University of California, Davis, says the corps is



Cairo, Ill. Army engineers blew up a levee to ease flooding in the town

clinging to an outdated notion of "hydrologic stationarity," basing its strategy on the false assumption that historic floods will predict the future. "We can't keep ignoring the trends," says Larry Larson, executive director of the Association of State Floodplain Managers. "Everybody has this attitude that the system is invincible. We'll see."

The most obvious way to limit our vulnerability to the Mississippi, as with any ferocious beast, is to get out of its way. The federal government has bought out some 40,000 flood-prone properties across the country since the Mississippi flood of 1993, but Europeans have been far more aggressive about keeping development out of their floodplains and giving their rivers room to spread out. Still, the Obama Administration is finalizing an overhaul of the rules governing water projects, a rare opportunity to steer the corps away from the eco-destructive boondoggles that have been its lifeblood for years. After decades of monomaniacally moving dirt and pouring concrete, the corps has gone along with nonstructural efforts to reduce flood damage by restoring wetlands, buying out vulnerable properties and retreating from rivers in places like Napa, Calif., and Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

We've learned a lot from failures in the past," Anderson says. "One thing we've learned is that where nature is too powerful, you've got to give it some sway."

The corps has been at war with the Mississippi for decades, and neither side has ever been big on retreat. But if there's a lesson from Katrina—not to mention the financial meltdown, the BP spill and the Japanese nuclear disaster—it's that black swans happen. One doesn't seem to be happening this time—but as they say in finance, past performance is no guarantee of future results. "The Mississippi River will always have its own way," Twain wrote. "No engineering skill can persuade it to do otherwise."

The Cool Kid

Jon Huntsman is a pro-civil-union Mormon who just spent nearly two years working for Obama. Could he really be the answer to the GOP's presidential-candidate problem?

BY MELINDA HENNEBERGER/COLUMBIA, S.C.

REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL hopeful Jon Huntsman has just proved he can keep 1,100 graduating college kids awake for 17 minutes—and even led them in a popular local cheer about kicking ass. But Obama's lean, understated former ambassador to China is really here to prove he can mount a credible campaign against the man he was working for a week prior. In a brightly lit cinder-block room inside the sports arena where the University of South Carolina has held its commencement, the former Utah governor jokes that the stark setting of our interview—his first since returning to the U.S.—suggests he might be in for some “enhanced interrogation.”

But if that's what I'm up to, then torture really doesn't work, because in several settings and a couple of hours together over a week's time, I don't even come close to getting him to spill such puny secrets as

whether he thinks we should be in Afghanistan or Libya (“There will be more to say about that”), in what ways he disagrees with Obama (“I don’t want to get into specifics”) or, for that matter, where he parts company with his fellow Republicans, including his distant cousin, former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney (“It wouldn’t be fair to offer an opinion without doing due diligence”). And as for whether or not Huntsman still belongs to the Church of Latter-day Saints, I know less than I did before I asked him. (“I’m a very spiritual person,” as opposed to a religious one, he says, “and proud of my Mormon roots.” Roots? That makes it sound as if you’re not a member anymore. Are you? “That’s tough to define,” he says. “There are varying degrees. I come from a long line of saloon keepers and proselytizers, and I draw from both sides.”)

So careful that he's disinclined to weigh in on any matter on which he hasn't



He and Mitt Romney
are cousins,
both descended
from Parley Pratt,
a founder of the
Mormon Church



been fully briefed or made up his mind, Huntsman is nonetheless plenty open about wanting to compete for Obama's job. Already he's in primary-season mode, moderating his previously moderate views by praising the Tea Party as "a very legitimate manifestation of people's anger and frustration in where we are today" and juking his support for the regional cap-and-trade carbon-emissions pact he and former California governor Arnold Schwarzenegger once championed. "It hasn't worked," he says now, "and our economy's in a different place than five years ago." Until it recovers, he adds, "this isn't the moment" to keep trying.

While some Republican hopefuls have failed or are still trying to coax their loved ones onto the campaign bus, Huntsman's wife and their seven children are more than ready for a yearlong road trip that could begin as soon as June. "I would be extremely excited" if he ran, his daughter Liddy, 23, says. "He'd be the ultimate fresh face." ("Thanks, chief," he tells her in his usual soothing sotto voce style.)

Certainly, his party is in the market for one of those; competition was so modest at the first GOP presidential debate of the season that the sole top-tier contender who showed, former Minnesota governor Tim Pawlenty, was begging for a rival who could help him keep his skills up. As Huntsman's would-be campaign manager John Weaver tells me, "This is the weakest Republican field since Wendell Willkie won the nomination on the sixth ballot in 1940."

But is the understated 51-year-old Jon Meade Huntsman Jr. really the answer to the Republican Party's personnel problem? He is, after all, a pro-civil-union Mormon who has just finished nearly two years of service for Obama in the land many Americans consider the new evil empire. He is pro-environment—a little too green for many in his party—and hardly anyone knows who he is. Though Huntsman's path to the nomination is a certified long shot, you have to wonder why so many on both the right and left seem to be freaking out at the prospect of his jumping into the race.

Democrats who fear that Huntsman would do well against Obama in next year's general election are busy pelting him with rose petals—take that, you wonderful man!—that they openly hope will disqualify him in the eyes of Republican Party regulars. But it's Huntsman's fel-

low conservatives who are in a swivet over all the attention he's gotten since arriving home from China on April 30. As governor, the antiabortion, pro-gun Huntsman did all the things Tea Party conservatives say they want, slashing taxes and adding jobs. He did that in part by using his sway with Mormon elders to pave the way for a reform of state liquor laws that made it easier to get a drink.

Yet on the right, he still somehow stands accused both of writing the President the kind of "love letters" most of us refer to as thank-you notes and of showing disloyalty to his country by "plotting" to run against that same President while in a position to undermine him on the world stage. Both what he says and what he doesn't say in our interviews make clear, though, that he really has not been steeping himself in presidential politics. "I'm not even sure I could name all of them," he says of his GOP rivals.

Fortunately for him, much of the country can't either.

Duty Calls Again

THERE'S NO SERIOUS DEBATE ABOUT WHY Obama picked Huntsman for the China job: First, Huntsman knows an awful lot about the country. And because the President's advisers saw the then governor of Utah as a potential future rival, Obama could score points as a uniter by appointing a Republican while also relocating his competition to the other side of the planet. At least, that's how it was supposed to work. One sign of Team Obama's discomfort over his early return is that the President's top campaign adviser, David Axelrod, has gone out of his way to emphasize how helpful to Obama Huntsman has been. And he warns that it'll be mighty tricky for Huntsman to pivot from working with the President to running against him.

So why did the wildly popular

'Just because I don't yell, scream and shout doesn't mean others aren't entitled to.'

—JON HUNTSMAN



governor—Huntsman had an 80% approval rating in his deeply conservative home state when he left it halfway through his second term—agree to take the China job, knowing that part of Obama's motivation in choosing him was to get him out of the way? And having done so, why did he return home to run anyway? To the first question, Huntsman says it was his sense of duty to country that made the decision so straightforward; he had worked for Ronald Reagan soon after college, and as George H.W. Bush's man in Singapore, he had been the youngest U.S. ambassador anywhere in a century. After a stint in his family business during the Clinton years, he had returned to Washington and served under George W. Bush as Deputy U.S. Trade Representative. When the President—any President—calls, he says, you answer.

But his father, a billionaire businessman and philanthropist, suggests in a phone interview that there is another reason as well. "His dream was to become ambassador to China," he tells me, because he's always been fascinated by and drawn to the culture. So it was certainly



Father of seven Huntsman at home in Washington with his wife Mary Kaye and their two youngest children: Asha, second from left, and Gracie Mei

no surprise to anyone in his family that he took the job, even though it did seem at the time that he was taking himself out of the running for the next presidential contest. A fluent speaker of both Mandarin and Taiwanese Hokkien, Huntsman had spent two years in Taiwan as a Mormon missionary and had done business all over Asia for the Huntsman Corp. He and his wife adopted their 11-year-old daughter Gracie Mei in China. Of their seven children, only four were able to move to China with them, which is one reason, he says, they had always planned to return home around now.

Still, the general GOP dissatisfaction with its options for 2012 scrambled Huntsman's plans dramatically in the past few months; when the family bought a \$3.6 million house in Washington last fall in anticipation of their move home, he was thinking about running for President—but four years from now. "The thought in here"—he taps his temple—"was 2016, but the political marketplace moved," and it seems to have provided a vacuum too vast to resist. "If there was zero interest," he says, sitting on his hands in the would-be

interrogation room, "we wouldn't be sitting here. We're encouraged by the level of interest and will let the rest of the month play out"—presumably in anticipation of jumping in come June.

A Rebel in His Own Mind

JON JR. WAS ALWAYS "CAPTAIN OF THE family team," says his father, who early in his career oversaw the invention of the egg carton and later the clamshell containers that Big Macs and Quarter Pounders come in. Young Jon, however, insisted on driving around in a beat-up van and eating in the grimiest diners possible. Just months shy of graduation, he announced that he was dropping out of high school to play keyboards in his band, Wizard. Says his former bandmate Howard Sharp, now an ob-gyn in Salt Lake City: "You have to remember, this was the '90s, and we had a singer who said that if we called ourselves Wizard, then our slogan could be ROCK AND ROLL MAGIC!"

In a phone interview with Huntsman Sr., I ask how worried he was when his namesake dropped out of school. "Oh, he thought he was going to make it big

with a rock band. I knew he wouldn't, but I knew it was temporary," he says. "I'd stand and listen to his rock band and think, Oh, I'll be happy when this is over." Sharp adds that Huntsman never struck him as much of a rebel; even then, he came across more as the classically trained pianist he was than the keyboard superstar he wanted to be.

A year later, Wizard was history and Huntsman was working on his G.E.D., says his dad, and he later graduated from the University of Pennsylvania. He likes to brag that when he met his wife Mary Kaye, she was the salad girl and he was a dishwasher at a Salt Lake City Marie Callender's. He seems to think of the down-market setting as romantic, almost on a par with the divey restaurants he still makes a habit of seeking out. So I am not that surprised when longtime family friend Mary Eleanor Hurt, who knew Mary Kaye Cooper when the latter was an Episcopalian growing up in Orlando, Fla., says the only snobbery she's ever seen in her friend Jon is "maybe reverse snobbery." And it's not just a matter of proving his regular-guy bona fides in campaign season: "Mary Kaye finally told him they had to stop eating in some of those back-alley places" in China, Hurt says.

The second time I stop by their new home in Kalorama, a tony D.C. neighborhood dotted with minor embassies and major ambassadors' homes, Mary Kaye is exiting with an armload of dry cleaning, and Jon is walking another visitor out. "The sun is shining, and we're still married," he says, breathing deeply to take in air that's pure compared with Beijing's. Kalorama is the sort of place you'd mount a campaign for opera-board trustee from, not the presidency. But even with aides going, photographers coming and little 5-year-old Asha shrieking periodically, the Huntsmans are easy to be around. And Jon bats down compliments as reflexively as many women do, repeatedly telling his wife, "Don't be too sappy," as she's praising him. "You need to get the antidewebs lens on the camera," he tells the photographer taking pictures for this story, "and filter out the goofiness."

Huntsman is something of a renowned prankster, which helps take the edge off his good looks and high polish. "Asha, do you know they eat dogs like that in China? They put them in stew," he says while pointing to his daughter's pet spaniel, which shocks me but sends her into fits of laughter. A few years ago, he paged Sharp, the doctor friend he used to jam with, stat—as in, this is an emergency. "So I called him back rapidly," Sharp remembers, "and he says, 'It's a rock-n'-roll emergency...the Foo Fighters are coming to town, and we've got to get tickets.'" He loves to talk about his passion for cross-country motorcycle racing. "It's a different ride," he tells the photographer, "but you're forced to give it up after a while because you get too many broken bones." And if Huntsman was never quite the rebel he imagined himself to be, it's not for lack of trying. "Is tonight black tie?" he asks an aide ahead of an event at the University of South Carolina. "That kind of sucks."

On more prominent display, though, is the serious man who, like his wife, gravitates to people in pain. "In the quiet heart is hidden sorrow," Mary Kaye tells me several times as we're chatting, quoting from a Mormon hymn. Though the students at South Carolina respond well to the lighter moments in his talk, like the timeless advice "Never forget to rock and roll," Huntsman also wades into the heavy topics of depression and suicide, telling them,

'This is the weakest Republican field since Wendell Willkie won the nomination on the sixth ballot in 1940.'

—JOHN WEAVER, HUNTSMAN'S POLITICAL ADVISER

"I've had my heart broken more than once when friends of my kids' have taken their own lives." He decided to include that line because, Mary Kaye tells me, "you know there was someone sitting in that audience who's thought about it, and it's so important to remind people going through that that they are not alone."

Utah Grudge Match

HUNTSMAN COULD SEE AND RAISE OBAMA in the cool-and-cerebral department. Does he ever get good and mad? "When you step in the dog poop in the house," says his wife with a snicker. But shows of pique, his friends say, are not really in his repertoire. "You can be stern and forthright, and that's my management style," he tells me, "but when you lose it totally, that's a sign of weakness." One imagines Obama and his former ambassador, who were born just a year apart, one-upping each other

with humorous asides in the heat of political battle and, if things got really crazy, perhaps letting fly with a searing look.

When I ask where he disagrees with Obama, he says, "I'm little reluctant, days off the plane, to take shots." There's something to admire in every President he's known, he adds, and he launches into a canny but glass-half-full rundown on Nixon, Reagan, both Bushes and Obama. The current occupant of the Oval Office, he says, "is trying to pick up the pieces of our economy and make sense of a world grown more complex and confusing." And it does bother him, he says, to hear people arguing about who, Bush or Obama, should get more credit for bringing down Osama bin Laden. "Our country needs a little good news, and this was an American event, an American achievement, not a political one."

But in the age of the Tea Party, of cable and blogosphere bile, is there room for such civility on the national stage? Does the influence of the Tea Parties leave any room at all for a moderate like Huntsman? And does his party want to win badly enough to give anyone who might appeal to independents a shot? "Just because I don't yell, scream and shout," he says, "doesn't mean others aren't entitled to. And people want to be led" rather than pandered to, he insists, despite ample evidence to the contrary.

Huntsman's return sets up an unusual Utah grudge match between the once close Romney and Huntsman families. Though his father knew Romney's dad well, "I've only met [Mitt] a few times and think well of him," Huntsman says. "I don't want this to sound pejorative, but he's one of the most talented politicos out there." When I mention the cousins connection, he is perhaps a tad quick to say, "Well, going back five generations." And yet, chimes in Liddy, "they got the same hair somewhere."

Neither Romney nor any of the other Republican aspirants has the foreign policy experience Huntsman has. But none are attempting as cold a start as he is either. He's still shaken very few hands, and he's spent little time lately in the American diners he says he loves so much. If he does enter the race next month, as expected, he will have to face some real interrogations, from real voters, and won't be able to tell them that now is not the time to fill in the blanks.



From envoy to rival Huntsman, right, with Obama in China in 2009



Local hero? Graffiti
near bin Laden's
compound in
Abbottabad



FRENEMIES

The U.S.-Pakistan relationship is no love match.
But it will survive the raid on Osama bin Laden

BY ARYN BAKER / ISLAMABAD

WHEN THE U.S. CONFRONTED Pakistan after the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, there were no discussions of common goals and shared dreams. There was just a very direct threat: you're either with us or against us. Pakistan had to choose between making an enemy of the U.S. and taking a quick and dirty deal sweetened with the promise of a lot of cash. In the end, Pakistan's cooperation was a transaction that satisfied the urgent needs of the day, brokered by a nervous military dictator, Pervez Musharraf, who failed to explain the value of the U.S. relationship to his people. That allowed a theme to become fixed among Pakistanis: the war on terrorism was America's war. When Pakistani soldiers started dying in battles with militant groups, when suicide bombers began killing Pakistani civilians, it was America's fault because it was America's war.

So as Pakistanis processed the mission that killed Osama bin Laden, many concluded that they had been betrayed by their supposed ally. How dare the Americans sneak into the country without so much as a warning and conduct a military operation just 75 miles (120 km) from the capital? But they felt betrayed too by their military. How could it be that Pakistan's armed forces, which claim a lion's share of government spending, were clueless about the presence, a mere mile from the country's most prestigious defense academy, of the world's most wanted terrorist? Cyril Almeida, one of Pakistan's best-known opinion writers, summed up the national anguish in a column: "If we didn't know [bin Laden was in Abbottabad], we are a failed state; if we did know, we are a rogue state."

Pakistan is a bit of both. It's not hard to detect dysfunction in a state where the military controls foreign policy, national security and an intelligence network so pervasive that no dinner guest at a foreign journalist's house goes unscrutinized. The

civilian government, hobbled by incompetence and corruption, has no power and, even worse, no backbone. In tea shops and on street corners, Pakistanis' frustration with their leadership collides with their inability to change it. Instead they lash out at the U.S. for reminding them of their failure as a nation.

The consequence is what Pakistani Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani, in an interview with TIME, calls a "trust deficit" with the U.S. Gilani insists that he can't mend the relationship with a wave of his hand. "I am not an army dictator. I'm a public figure," he tells TIME. "If public opinion is against [the U.S.], then I cannot resist it to stand with you. I have to go with public opinion." In a May 9 speech to Parliament after the Abbottabad raid, Gilani accused the U.S. of violating Pakistan's sovereignty and warned that Pakistan had the right to retaliate with "full force" against any future incursions. Others are more blunt: "To hell with the Americans," says retired Brigadier General Shaukat Qadir, a popular columnist and regular guest on TV talk shows. "We need to reconsider our relationship."

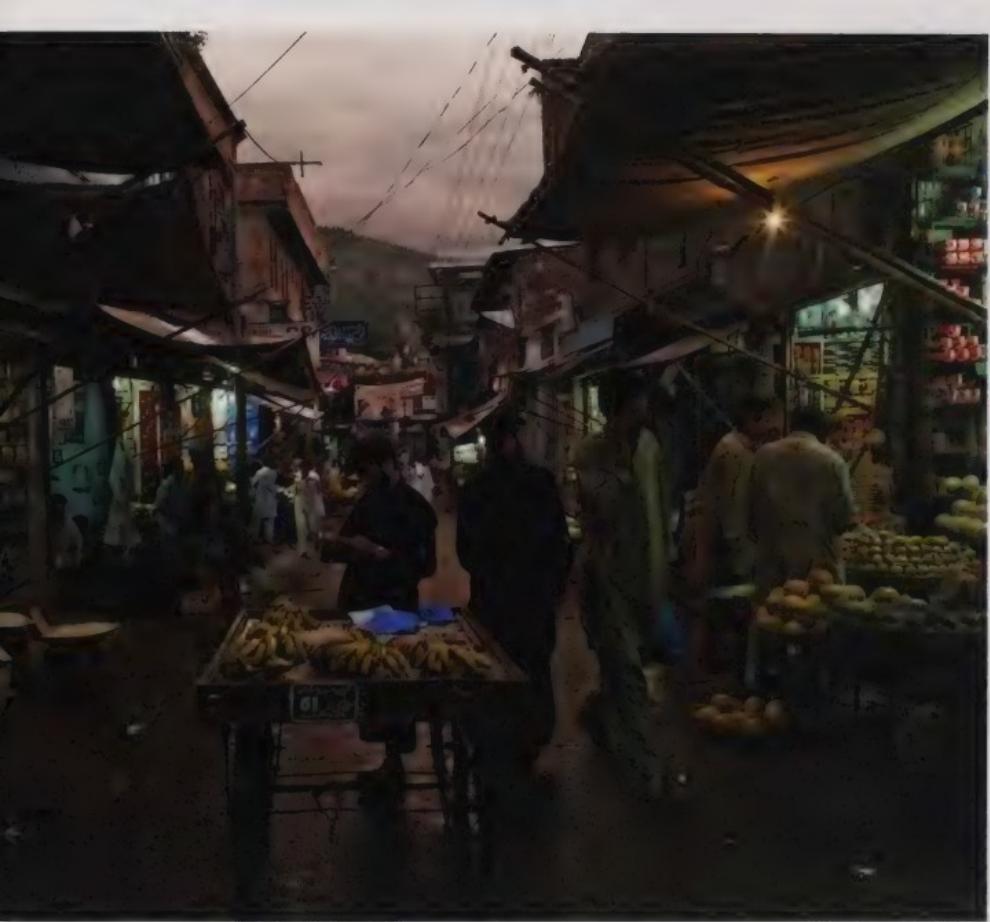
In Washington, that sentiment is echoed in Congress, where lawmakers are demanding to know why a country that has received more than \$20 billion in U.S. aid over the past decade shelters and arms enemies of the U.S. even as it purports to hunt them down. "I think this is a moment when we need to look each other in the eye and decide, Are we real allies? Are we going to work together?" said Speaker of the House John Boehner.

It's not just the rhetoric that's heating up. Each side seems eager to pique the other in the eye. The U.S. has launched drone strikes at several sites in Pakistan since the Abbottabad operation, knowing full well that these will infuriate the Pakistani military, which sees them as a violation of sovereignty. For their part, Pakistani officials have told ABC News that they may give China parts of a destroyed U.S. stealth heli-



copter left behind at bin Laden's compound.

Yet for all the anger in Islamabad and Washington, neither nation has much of a choice. However duplicitous and volatile it may be, the U.S.-Pakistan relationship is central to the interests of both countries. The U.S. needs Pakistan's help to be successful in Afghanistan. Pakistan provides, among other things, a vital transit link for goods destined for coalition troops in the landlocked country. But even without Afghanistan, the U.S. would need Pakistan to be stable. The alternative—a collapsing nation awash with terrorist groups and possessing a nuclear arsenal—is too awful to consider. How real is that prospect? "Pakistan is passing through one of the most dangerous periods of instability in its history,"



warns Anthony Cordesman of the Center for Strategic and International Studies. “[It] is approaching a perfect storm of threats, including rising extremism, a failing economy, chronic underdevelopment and an intensifying war, resulting in unprecedented political, economic and social turmoil.”

Flaws in the Foundation

THE RELATIONSHIP, IN TRUTH, HAS NEVER been about trust. It was and is a strategic alliance founded on complementary interests: Pakistan's desire for military assistance and its fear of becoming a pariah state, and the U.S.'s need for regional support in the Afghanistan war. While Pakistan and the U.S. share similar long-term goals—economic partnership, stability

in the region—their short-term needs rarely intersect. That is why the question of whose side Pakistan is on is so galling to most Pakistanis and so infuriating to most Americans. “Pakistan is on Pakistan’s side,” says Tariq Azim, an opposition Senator and Deputy Information Minister under Musharraf.

Carved from the newly independent India in 1947, Pakistan has never fully resolved the quandary with which its founder, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, wrestled: Is it a Muslim state or a state for Muslims? While his Indian counterpart, Jawaharlal Nehru, ruled for nearly two decades—long enough to realize his vision of a secular state—Jinnah died a year after Pakistan’s founding. A succession of weak

Civilian life As evening falls, a banana seller plies the lanes of the vegetable market in Abbottabad’s old bazaar

civilian governments and military dictatorships followed. In that period, India and Pakistan fought three wars, mainly over the contested territory of Kashmir. In 1971, Indian military support for separatists in East Pakistan led to the creation of Bangladesh. That humiliation informs Pakistan’s actions still and its belief that India constitutes an “existential threat” capable of destabilizing and further dismembering Pakistan. That fear of India, in turn, explains Islamabad’s quest for nuclear weapons, which was realized with a test in 1998.



For the first three decades of Pakistan's existence, its leaders, both military and civilian, ran a largely secular state. That changed in 1977, when General Zia ul Haq took power in a military coup. He cemented his rule by instituting Islamic law and revising the educational curriculum in an effort to promote nationalism and an Islamic identity. Had it not been for the 1979 Soviet invasion of neighboring Afghanistan, Pakistan's secular elite might have rebelled. Instead, the country rallied in support of its neighbor, out of fear that it might be next.

Fearing the same thing, the U.S. supported Pakistan as it armed and trained Afghan *mujahedin* to take on the Soviets. This required both subterfuge and a certain amount of denial: since U.S. law forbade aid to a nation pursuing nuclear weapons,

Washington chose to pretend Pakistan was doing no such thing. When Soviet forces pulled out of Afghanistan in 1989, Pakistan was left with more than 3 million Afghan refugees and a generation brought up with the culture of jihad. Then, in 1990, Pakistan's nuclear program was finally recognized, and the U.S., which had already cut aid, imposed sanctions on Islamabad. "You used us, and then you dumped us," says Qadir, the retired general, echoing national sentiment. "And Pakistanis are convinced you are going to do it again."

Uniform Power

THE U.S.-PAKISTAN ALLIANCE IN THE 1980S vastly empowered the Pakistani military and its Directorate for Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). American aid flowed through

them, swelling their sense that they alone could safeguard the nation's interests. When Pakistan returned to civilian rule in 1988, the military retained effective control of national security and foreign policy, redirecting Islamist fervor against India in a protracted guerrilla war. Civilian rule lasted barely a decade. By the end of 1999, Musharraf, another general, had seized power in a coup.

The U.S. didn't seem that concerned. After 9/11, sanctions were lifted and aid restarted, with the Pakistani military again serving as the main conduit. In exchange, Islamabad would enable the free flow of supplies to NATO troops in Afghanistan, allow covert U.S. operations against terrorist groups sheltered in Pakistan and mop up any groups that threatened U.S.



Who guards the guards? Pakistani policemen at the compound where bin Laden was killed on May 1

not to finger Pakistan's government or military leadership. But the bargain struck in 2001 seems to have broken down. "Clearly, from an operational perspective, the fact that the U.S. executed this raid unilaterally suggests that there's not a lot of faith in that relationship anymore," says Stephen Tankel, a visiting fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's South Asia program. "So this seems to me an opportunity to try to engage with a longer-term view toward promoting civilian governance in Pakistan."

Many Pakistanis would like that as well but know from history not to hold their breath. "This is a golden opportunity for the civilian leadership to assert themselves," says Talat Masood, a retired lieutenant general who has long campaigned to get the military out of government. But, he adds, "knowing their capabilities, in all likelihood they will not. And that is the tragedy of Pakistan."

The Military Mind-Set

WHY IS PAKISTAN'S CIVILIAN LEADERSHIP so weak? The military is at least partly to blame. For the past two decades it has engaged in a campaign of divide and conquer, setting political parties at odds with one another. It has bought media complicity—either through intimidation or by threatening to cut lucrative advertising from military-owned enterprises. When politicians persist in criticizing the military, they are quickly silenced. One parliamentarian, who asked not to be named, says he received a series of harassing text messages within moments of criticizing the military. "A known pro-ISI journalist came up to me and said, 'Sir, they are going to make an example out of you,'" says the parliamentarian. And then the text messages arrived: "According to news reports, you frequent a gay club in New York," the first one read. Then: "Hey, I just saw gay video feeds of you on YouTube." And finally, "Hi, I remember we had good times together. Love Boris."

All of which poses an obvious question: How could an organization that so closely monitors all aspects of Pakistani life not have known that bin Laden was hiding in Abbottabad? One explanation: it wasn't looking. "The fight against al-Qaeda was part of the larger effort to play

a role in the war on terror, but you didn't have a dedicated al-Qaeda unit in the ISI monitoring activities in Pakistan," explains military analyst Rifaat Hussain. "It was a classic case of not paying attention to something under your nose." Pakistanis, in truth, are less concerned that bin Laden was in their midst than about the fact that the U.S. was able to find him there and enter Pakistani territory without the military's knowledge. "This leads one to a more serious question: Are our nuclear assets safe?" asked Pakistan's former ambassador to Afghanistan Ayaz Wazir in an opinion piece in the *New York Times*, an English daily. (The notion that the U.S. is after Pakistan's nuclear weapons—more than 100 bombs, by some estimates—is one of many conspiracy theories trotted out on nightly TV talk shows.)

Yet if the raid in Abbottabad has taken some of the shine off the military brass, the generals can be relied upon to stoke anti-American sentiment as a diversion. The military is adept at making even good news look bad. In the autumn of 2009, when the civilian government cheered the prospect of U.S. legislation tripling nonmilitary aid, the generals stepped in to denounce its conditions as humiliating. The Kerry-Lugar bill marked the first time Washington had addressed the dire socioeconomic problems of Pakistan and the need to reinforce democracy there, but the military rightly perceived as a threat a rider stipulating that funds would cease in the event of a coup.

From outrage over drone attacks to hysteria over the CIA contractor who killed a pair of Pakistanis in what appeared to be a legitimate case of self-defense, anti-U.S. rage is the military's dependable standby. "Pakistan doesn't have positive leverage over us," says Christine Fair, a Pakistan expert at Georgetown University. "So [the military] creates bilateral fiascoes through their media wing and uses that to temper what Pakistan will or will not do."

One thing the military won't do is take on militants in North Waziristan, which serves as a haven for the Haqqani network. To retired ambassador Tanvir Khan, who served in Afghanistan in the 1980s, the cost of taking on the Haqqanis would be too high for Pakistan to bear. You have to pick your battles, he says. "If the army does in North Waziristan what the Americans want it to do, overnight the Haqqanis become enemies of Pakistan," he says. Already the military is battling

interests. Musharraf's replacement by a civilian government in 2008 didn't change the terms of the deal, but it coincided with growing concern in the U.S. that the Pakistanis were not keeping up their end of the bargain. While Pakistan was indeed doing battle against some terrorist groups, it also seemed to allow others to thrive: the Haqqani network, a group affiliated with al-Qaeda and which has attacked U.S. and NATO positions in Afghanistan, has a safe haven in Pakistani territory. In the past two years, a succession of top U.S. officials have openly suggested that some of the most wanted terrorists were being sheltered by elements of the Pakistani establishment.

Since the killing of bin Laden, the Obama Administration has been careful

insurgents elsewhere in the tribal areas. The Haqqanis "would be a much harder nut to crack," says Khan. And if the military were to dedicate its army to combatting militants on its western border, it would risk leaving its eastern flank vulnerable to attack from India.

Given Pakistan's fear of India, that is a lot to ask. That fear may have been fanned by a military establishment attempting to justify its outsize expenditures, but India has done little to assuage the paranoia. Indeed it contributes, massing troops on the border and, according to Western diplomats in Islamabad, sending agents into Baluchistan province, where a long simmering ethnic separatist movement invites memories of Bangladesh. And it is India—not Pakistan—that has a deal with the U.S. for the peaceful exploitation of civilian nuclear power. "From the Pakistani point of view, we are the ones playing a double game," says Pakistan expert Fair. "We reject their security concerns, saying they are not relevant. Then we ask them to move their entire military in order to wage a deeply unpopular war, and meanwhile we give India a nuclear deal. No wonder they don't trust us."

Can't Live Without 'Em

STILL, THE AWKWARD TRUTH REMAINS: The U.S. needs Pakistan. U.S. officials believe that bin Laden's death offers an opportunity to peel the Taliban away from al-Qaeda. And when that happens, Pakistan will be perfectly poised to offer its assistance. Though routinely denied by Pakistani officials, it is hardly a secret that Taliban leader Mullah Mohammed Omar has been using Pakistan as a base of operations ever since he fled the U.S. invasion in 2001.

With the target date for turning over responsibility for Afghan security to the Afghan army in 2015 approaching, there is near universal agreement that the Taliban will have to be involved in some sort of political reconciliation. "The Americans need the Pakistanis to negotiate in Afghanistan," says a senior Western diplomat in Islamabad. In Pakistani eyes, that justifies the policy of maintaining relations with the Taliban, says Senator Azim. "We are the only ones who are accused of keeping close ties, so Pakistan is the only country that [the West] can rely on."

Officials' knee-jerk denials of

Pakistani support for the Taliban have turned into crowing triumphalism as leaders see a decade's worth of subterfuge bear fruit. Still, Azim makes it clear that his nation's interests will stay at the fore of any reconsidered relationship. Pakistan will protect its Taliban sources even as the U.S. demands greater intelligence sharing. So for Washington, says Azim, the question boils down to this: "A decision has to be made. Can you use Pakistan, with all its warts? My submission is that you don't have anyone else, so you might as well use us. Not by twisting our arm or accusing us. You know, do it nicely by sitting down with us and listening to our point of view. Our objective is to have a friendly government in Afghanistan. Americans want a safe, honorable exit. Let us help you."

Gilani, too, insists that the relationship can be put back on track. For example, "a drones strategy can be worked out," he says. "If drone strikes are effective, then we should evolve a common strategy to win over public opinion. Our position is that the technology should be transferred to us." And, he adds, he is prepared to countenance a strategy in which the CIA would continue to use drone strikes "where they are used under our supervision"—a departure from Pakistan's publicly stated policy of condemning drone strikes as intolerable violations of sovereignty.

What Gilani really wants is some love. Washington, he told TIME, needs to provide his people with a visible demonstration of support if it hopes to rebuild trust. The U.S., the Prime Minister says, "should do something for the public which will persuade them that it is supportive of Pakistan." As an example, he cites—of course—the U.S.-India civil nuclear agreement of 2008. "It's our public that's dying, but the deal is happening there," he says in a wounded tone. "You claim there's a strategic partnership? That we're best friends?"

Then, casting his eyes up at his chandeliered ceiling, Pakistan's Prime Minister reaches for a verse. "When we passed each other, she didn't deign to even say hello," he intones, quoting the Urdu poet Mirza Ghalib. "How, then, can I believe that our parting caused her any tears?" —WITH REPORTING BY OMAR WARAIKH/ISLAMABAD AND MARK BENJAMIN, MASSIMO CALABRESI AND MARK THOMPSON/WASHINGTON ■

The Double Mirror

How Pakistan's intelligence service plays both sides

BY DAVID IGNATIUS

IN THE DAYS AFTER THE U.S. RAID ON Osama bin Laden's compound in Abbottabad—when the whole world was wondering whether the Pakistani had known all along that he was there—I found myself reviewing my correspondence with officers of the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) directorate. That's just one of the unlikely facts about Pakistan's fearsome intelligence service: its top operatives answer their e-mail.

The notes brought back to me the strange duality of the ISI, which I encountered in my first meetings in Pakistan with its senior leaders in 2009. They proved to be passionate correspondents. With their public face, they wanted to be understood—liked, even. But their private face was coldly ruthless, to the point of silently condoning attacks on U.S. soldiers by their allies.

I found that I couldn't capture ISI's nuances in newspaper columns. So my eighth novel, *Bloodmoney*, is set largely in Pakistan; it centers on a fictional ISI and a CIA whose operations inside Pakistan have spun out of control. I describe the director general of my imaginary ISI this way: "To say that the Pakistani was playing a double game did not do him justice; his strategy was far more complicated than that."

This Janus-like quality is true of all intelligence services, I suppose, but I have never seen an organization quite like the ISI. It is at once very secretive and very open, yet ISI officials get especially peeved at the charge of duplicity: "I cannot go on defending myself forever, even when I am not doing what I am blamed for," wrote one of my ISI contacts, after I had written a column noting the organization's "double game" with the U.S. "I shall do what I think is good for PAKISTAN, my country. I am sure you will do the same for US."

What this official wanted me to understand was that Pakistan was suffering under its own onslaught of terrorism. An



Modern-day Janus?

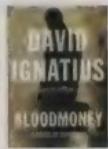
Ahmed Shuja Pasha, the chief of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence agency since 2008

the tribal areas and Afghanistan to form what became the various Taliban factions and to Kashmir to create covert weapons against India. The S wing and its partner the R wing (which manages operations) are the tail that wags the ISI dog. The current ISI leadership has tried to bring them under control, but only halfheartedly. This is the two-way mirror that shattered on May 1. And it has been a duplicitous game on both sides, it must be said. The U.S. has demanded the ISI's cooperation in fighting al-Qaeda but refused to disclose the scope of its operations. Our drones have operated from a Pakistani air base, for example, but we provide only "concurrent" notification of the targets—meaning after the Hellfire missiles have been fired. Like the Pakistanis, we want it both ways: operate as allies when it suits our purpose; operate unilaterally when it doesn't. The Pakistanis, for their part, fight the Taliban and other killers when it suits them, but they maintain a network of secret contacts with these same groups. They sup with the devil, claiming they're debriefing him.

In my novel, the CIA and ISI come to a deal in the end. Their war is resolved through the ancient tribal code that demands a balance of mutual respect, symbolized by a payment of blood money. I suspect something similar will happen eventually in real life. Even after all the recent recriminations, we will keep working with the ISI. And we will eventually negotiate with the Taliban.

What could make things with Pakistan worse—much worse, in fact? Confirmation of U.S. suspicions that the ISI knew where bin Laden was and sheltered him. President Obama says bin Laden had "some sort of support mechanism" in Pakistan. The cache of other material taken from bin Laden's compound will surely reveal the nature of that support network.

You have to hope the suspicion of ISI complicity isn't true. If it turns out they were hiding him, we won't have a double game anymore but a single one—an unambiguous and deeply dangerous confrontation.



ISI briefer almost shouted at me in 2010: "Mr. David Ignatius! Look at the casualties we have suffered fighting terrorism!" We're in alongside the U.S., ISI officials insist. Yet they are caught in the backwash of an anti-American rhetoric they help create. The ISI's press cell feeds Pakistani newspapers constantly; presumably, it thinks its U.S.-bashing leaks will hide the reality of the ISI's cooperation. But the puppeteer has gotten caught in the strings. Anti-Americanism has taken a virulent form that threatens the ISI too.

In late 2009, after an especially gruesome Taliban bombing that killed some of his colleagues, one of my ISI pen pals wrote: "WE MUST WIN, if we want our children to be living a life of THEIR CHOICE AND BELIEF and NOT OF THESE BEASTS. We want to get our beautiful and peaceful Country back from their vicious clutches. We can not allow them to destroy our future. They can kill me but NEVER my

spirit, NEVER my free soul!!! Who could dislike a man with such passionate punctuation? And yet back in the U.S., when I asked top CIA and military officers what the intelligence showed about the ISI's activities, they would become visibly angry. If you could just read the intercepts, they would say... if you could see the double-dealing—how they take U.S. intelligence, for example, and pass it along to U.S. enemies in the Haqqani network.

And now, the very worst: we learn that bin Laden had been living for at least six years in Abbottabad, a city that is virtually a military cantonment. It seems implausible that the ISI wouldn't have known, but CIA officials say there's no evidence yet of direct Pakistani government knowledge. The ISI's core problem is that it created paramilitary forces it can't control. In the ISI's case, the problem is the forward-deployed assets of the S (for strategic) wing, which were sent out to

Ignatius, a novelist, is a foreign-affairs columnist at the Washington Post

Debunking the Myths About Arthritis

The hidden truths about a disease affecting millions of Americans of all ages.



WHEN CAITLIN RYAN WAS 3 YEARS OLD, her parents, Colleen and David Ryan, noticed that one of her knees appeared slightly swollen. "We didn't think much about it because she wasn't complaining," Colleen recalls of her bubbly, always-on-the-go toddler. "We thought maybe she'd fallen off her tricycle and bumped it."

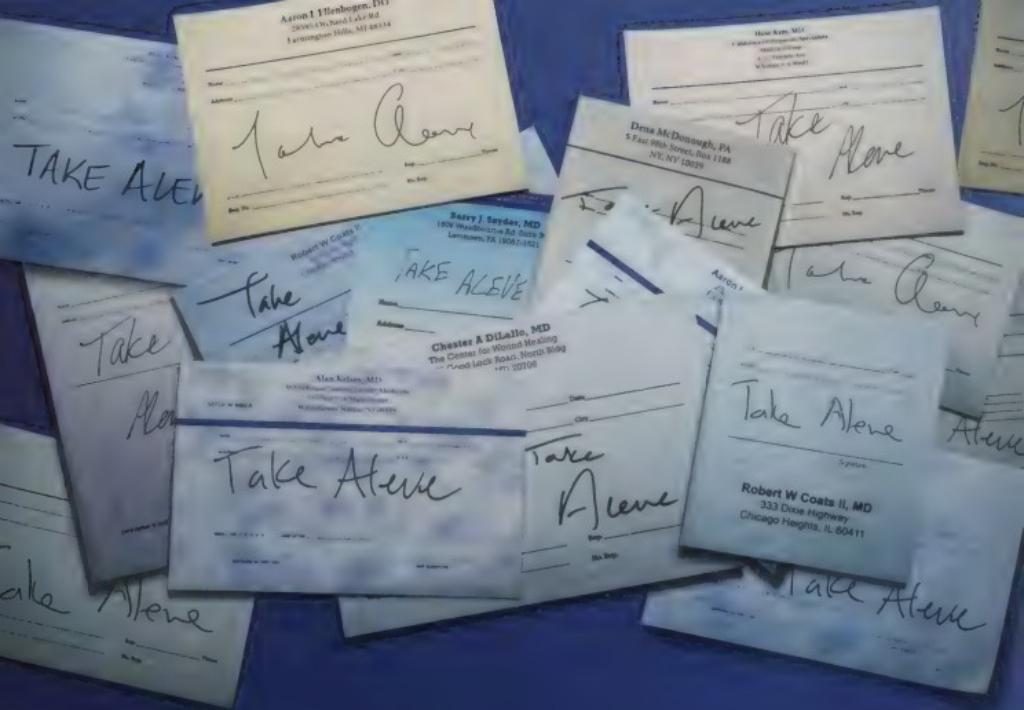
A few days later, Caitlin began asking to be carried everywhere, a habit her parents first chalked up to her only-child "princess" status. But when Caitlin developed a 104-degree fever, the Ryans grew worried. They rushed Caitlin to an urgent care facility, where doctors diagnosed influenza and recommended an over-the-counter fever reducer.

Within days, however, a new and more frightening constellation of symptoms began to appear. Caitlin grew lethargic, developed a rash, and became unable to walk or turn her neck. She was in unrelenting pain. In the hospital, doctors frantically conducted a series of blood tests, x-rays, bone scans and other imaging examinations to rule out meningitis, heart problems and leukemia. Their observations finally

pointed to another diagnosis: systemic juvenile idiopathic arthritis.

Arthritis? How could a disease that most people associate with benign aches and pains bring their beloved child so much heartache, her parents wondered. How could arthritis have turned their lives upside down?

It's the question people with arthritis and their loved ones have been asking since arthritis was first recognized thousands of years ago. That's because, depending on its type and severity, "arthritis can go far beyond minor aches and pains," says Patience White, M.D., a pediatric rheumatologist and the vice president of public health for the Arthritis Foundation. Despite the profound impact it has on many families, however, myths about the disease abound.



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WkH Data 2010. Survey of orthopedic surgeons.
*Use as directed for minor arthritis pain.
†Comparison to Extra Strength Tylenol based on minimum label dosing for 24 hours.
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OSTEOARTHRITIS



RHEUMATOID ARTHRITIS



LUPUS ERYTHEMATOSUS



GOUT



FIBROMYALGIA

Myth № 1

All kinds of arthritis are alike.

FACT *Arthritis comprises more than 100 conditions.*

Arthritis is loosely defined as any condition that causes inflammation of the joints. It can have many causes, depending on the form it takes, and is sometimes associated with other ailments. For example, new research shows that people with diagnosed diabetes or heart disease are more than twice as likely to have arthritis. The most common types of arthritis include:

OSTEOARTHRITIS, which results from the wear and tear on or injury to cartilage—the part of a joint that cushions the ends of the bones and allows easy movement. Some 27 million people in the U.S. are officially diagnosed with osteoarthritis, but many more probably suffer from it. Despite its reputation as a disease of older people, it can affect those of any age. Overweight and obese individuals are more likely to have osteoarthritis, but history of joint injury and hereditary factors also play a role.

RHEUMATOID ARTHRITIS (RA), an autoimmune disease, one of a group of diseases that occur when the body's tissues are mistakenly attacked by their own immune system. RA is characterized mainly by inflammation of the synovium, or lining, of the joints. An estimated 1.5 million people in the U.S. have RA. Juvenile arthritis is similar to but not the same as RA and occurs in children 16 years of age and under.

SYSTEMIC LUPUS ERYTHEMATOSUS, an autoimmune disorder closely related to RA. Lupus can damage one's joints, skin, blood vessels, lungs, kidneys, heart and brain. It affects as many as 322,000 U.S. adults. Lupus is a chronic disease that tends to have flares and remissions. Although SLE is not considered curable, people with lupus can enjoy periods of extended remission with virtually no clinical activity.

GOUT, which occurs when a buildup of uric acid in the body causes crystal-like deposits to travel to the joints. Areas affected are swollen, red and sore. Gout affects about 3 million adults in the U.S.

FIBROMYALGIA, an increasingly recognized illness that is characterized by widespread musculoskeletal aches, pain and stiffness, soft-tissue tenderness, general fatigue and sleep disturbances. According to the national Fibromyalgia Research Association, the most common sites of pain include the neck, back, shoulders, pelvic girdle and hands, but any body part can be involved. Fibromyalgia patients experience a range of symptoms of varying intensities that may wax and wane over time.

Tips for Protecting Your Joints



Protecting your joints may help you prevent osteoarthritis and the pain associated with the disease.

1. Maintain your ideal body weight. The more you weigh, the more stress you are putting on your joints, especially your hips, knees, back and feet.

2. Move your body. Exercise protects joints by strengthening the muscles around them. Strong muscles keep your joints from rubbing against one another, wearing down cartilage.

3. Stand up straight. Good posture protects the joints in your neck, back, hips and knees.

4. Use the big joints. When lifting or carrying, use the largest and strongest joints and muscles. This will help you avoid injury and strain on your smaller joints.

5. Pace yourself. Alternate periods of heavy activity with periods of rest. Repetitive stress on joints for long periods of time can accelerate the wear and tear that causes OA.

6. Listen to your body. If you are in pain, don't ignore it. Pain after activity or exercise can be an indication that you have overstressed your joints.

7. Don't be static. Changing positions regularly will decrease the stiffness in your muscles and joints.

8. Forget the weekend warrior. Don't engage in activities for which your body isn't prepared. Start new activities slowly and safely until you know how your body will react to them.

9. Wear proper safety equipment. Don't leave helmets and wrist pads at home. Make sure you get safety gear that fits.

May is Arthritis Awareness Month. Take Action. Visit www.arthritis.org/awareness





Myth № 2

People with arthritis should avoid exercising.

FACT *Exercise is a valuable tool in the fight against arthritis.*

While there are no cures for most kinds of rheumatic diseases, there are ways to ease pain and prevent loss of function in most arthritis patients.

A growing body of research indicates that exercise, weight management and the avoidance of joint injury can go a long way in helping to prevent osteoarthritis. Injuries are a common precursor to arthritis; thus, injury prevention helps hold arthritis at bay, says Dr. White. At the same time, losing just one pound of body weight can eliminate four pounds of stress on the knee. Excess weight may also contribute to the body's production of cytokines, chemicals that trigger the inflammatory process, says Dr. John Hardin, the Arthritis Foundation's vice president of research. In addition to aiding weight loss and keeping cytokines in check, exercise helps keep the muscles and tissues strong so that they can support the joints.

Exercise programs targeted specifically to people with arthritis are available around the country. One example is the Arthritis Foundation's Life Improvement Series. Offered nationwide in community-based settings such as YMCAs, these programs use gentle moves to strengthen muscles, improve flexibility, reduce pain

and stiffness, and boost mood and self-confidence. Nationally certified instructors teach classes.

Many kinds of land-based and water-based exercises can be effective therapies for arthritis. The following types of activities are recommended:

Strength, Flexibility and Aerobics.

Moderate physical activity can improve one's health without harming the joints. Strength, flexibility and aerobics classes can be tailored to suit one's fitness level—with exercises that can be done while sitting, standing or on the floor.

Aquatics. Water is a safe, ideal environment for relieving arthritis pain and stiffness. Conducted in warm water, aquatic programs allow people with arthritis to exercise without putting excess strain on their joints and muscles.

Tai Chi. Tai Chi, particularly Sun-style Tai Chi, can be an ideal exercise for arthritis because it generally includes agile steps and exercises that don't require deep bending or squatting. Tai Chi may improve mobility, breathing and relaxation.

Walking. Walking has been shown to boost energy, reduce stress and aid in weight control. The Arthritis Foundation's Walk with Ease program, for example, is based on programs that have been successfully implemented in research settings.

Michele Melkerson-Granryd, a fitness coach from Austin, is a walking testament to the benefits of exercise for people with arthritis. In her 40s, and in the middle of a thriving fitness career, Michele's doctor diagnosed her with osteoarthritis. She had the hips of an 80-year-old, he warned, and should avoid physical activity. But after researching the benefits of exercise for people with arthritis, she decided to return to fitness training six weeks after hip replacement surgery.

Today, she considers exercise a key component in her recovery. "I know for a fact the days when I don't move, my body hurts more," she says. "And now I have a new niche. I've become a resource for people with arthritis, encouraging them to explore different paths of movement and to find the things that help them feel good."

Myth № 3

A specific diet can cause or cure arthritis.

FACT There's no magic diet, but research has begun to identify some foods that reduce inflammation.

The Arthritis Foundation advises patients to be suspicious of any diet that claims to treat or cure arthritis. Still, researchers have established some connections between food and arthritis symptoms.

FOODS THAT MAY HELP:

Salmon, Tuna and Other Fatty Fish. Omega-3 fatty acids found in fatty fish are linked to relief from arthritis pain and joint tenderness. Maintaining the proper proportion of omega-6 fatty acids to omega-3 fatty acids in the diet helps decrease the activity of the Cox-2 enzyme, a substance believed to increase joint inflammation. According to estimates from the University of Maryland Medical Center, the ratio should be in the range of 2:1–4:1 omega-6 to omega-3; however, the diets of most people living in the Western world contain roughly 14 to 25 times more omega-6 than omega-3.

Fruits, Nuts, Tea, Vegetables and Even Chocolate.

Increasing the amount of plant-based foods can help combat inflammation. That's because these foods contain phytochemicals and antioxidants that are known to decrease Cox-2 activity.

Olive Oil. Researchers believe that consuming three-and-a-half tablespoons of olive oil daily has a positive effect. It suppresses Cox-2 activity and may control inflammation as effectively as one 200-milligram tablet of ibuprofen.

Vitamin D-Rich Foods. These include fatty fish, fortified milk, yogurt and egg yolks. Following a diet with the right amounts of vitamin D helps strengthen bones, an important component of joint health.

Strawberries. A study by the Harvard School of Public Health showed that women who ate 16 or more strawberries per week were 14% less likely than non-strawberry eaters to have elevated levels of C-reactive protein, an indicator of inflammation within the body.

FOODS TO LIMIT:

Processed, Snack and Fried Foods, Margarines, Corn Oil, Sunflower Oil, Soybean Oil and Safflower Oil. All of these foods contain high ratios of omega-6 fatty acids, which are associated with greater activity of the Cox-2 enzyme.

Red Meat. Experts believe a possible link exists between eating large amounts of red meat and inflammation. A study published in 2004 by the journal *Arthritis & Rheumatism* showed that people who consumed two or more ounces of red meat each day had more than double the risk of developing rheumatoid arthritis, compared to individuals who ate less than one ounce of red meat each day. The researchers suggested that a substance found in red meat might trigger an immune system response, which could in turn affect the joints.

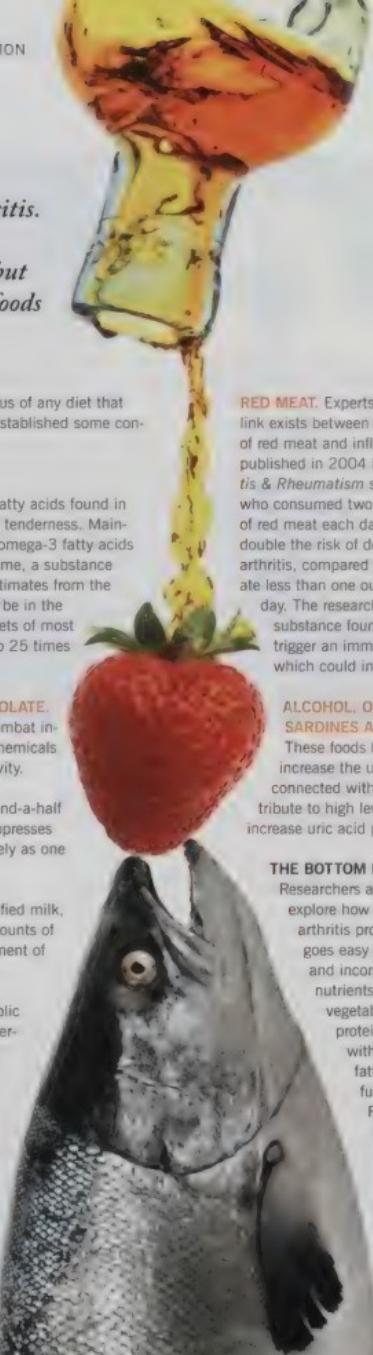
Alcohol, Organ Meats, Sardines and Anchovies.

These foods have been shown to increase the uric acid production connected with gout. They can contribute to high levels of purines, which increase uric acid production.

THE BOTTOM LINE:

Researchers are continuing to explore how certain foods affect arthritis progression. A diet that goes easy on processed foods and incorporates sufficient nutrients from the fruit and vegetable, dairy and meat/protein food groups, along with plenty of omega-3 fatty acids, is healthful for most people.

For arthritis sufferers, eating the right foods and preparing the right menu may help ward off the inflammation that causes damage to the joints.



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Myth № 4

Arthritis isn't a serious health problem.

FACT *Arthritis is the leading cause of disability.*

Viewed collectively, arthritis and rheumatic diseases constitute one of the most common chronic health conditions in the United States, touching the lives of one in every five adult Americans and nearly 300,000 children. The disease is also a major cause of work disability. For example, fewer than 50% of rheumatoid arthritis patients younger than 65 who are working at the onset of the disease are still working 10 years later.

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) projects that by 2030, some 67 million Americans will suffer from some form of doctor-diagnosed arthritis. Even now, the disease results in an economic impact of \$128 billion a year, by CDC estimates.

But it is the human toll that is most distressing. Chronic pain can be the hardest part of dealing with rheumatoid arthritis, osteoarthritis or another type of related condition. "When you have arthritis, daily life can be filled with many challenges, and ordinary activities you once took for granted can be difficult and painful," says Dr. Wes Cetnarowski, senior vice president for global research and development for Bayer HealthCare's Consumer Care division. "Everyday actions such as dressing can be excruciating. But it's important for people with arthritis pain to feel optimistic about their lives and know that there are effective treatment options available. These include naproxen sodium, which can provide all-day pain relief with just two pills."

Arthritis also exerts much psychological pain. Flare-ups can trigger depression and put extreme stress on relationships. A recent survey by Arthritis Care, a nonprofit organization, found that three in five of those surveyed with arthritis said they felt depressed when their pain is at its worst. Some 50% said they felt helpless as a result of arthritis-related pain. That figure rose to 67% among 18- to 34-year-olds, many of whom said that the pain also prevented them from socializing. About 80% of those surveyed said that the people around them do not understand their arthritis pain. Twenty-one percent said nothing makes them feel better when they are in pain.

Myth № 5

Not much can be done for arthritis.

FACT *Relief is available and new treatments are in the pipeline.*

Medications, both over-the-counter and prescription treatments, provide relief for many arthritis patients. Dr. Robin Dore, a rheumatologist in private practice in Tustin, Calif., says the first line of defense is often a nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drug (NSAID). Naproxen sodium, which can be given in doses that last up to 12 hours, is one commonly prescribed NSAID, as is a combination of enteric-coated naproxen and immediate-release esomeprazole magnesium, an ulcer risk-reducing medication.

New research into the causes and treatment of arthritis has already begun to yield better patient outcomes, says Dr. Hardin. The advent of a class of drugs known as biologics has been "near miraculous" in the treatment of RA, he notes. Biologics include a wide range of medicines isolated from natural substances.

Certain biologics target components of the immune system that cause inflammation. "These drugs aren't perfect, but for many people they help control the disease," Dr. Hardin says. Researchers are now at work on a new generation of biologics that can, for the first time, be delivered orally.

Caitlin Ryan is one of the patients looking forward to new treatment modalities. Ten years after her first hospitalization, Caitlin is a happy 13-year-old with good friends, good grades and a passion for fashion design. Having undergone two hip replacement surgeries and treatment with biologics, her illness is under control, though she is not always pain-free. Nonetheless, she approaches life with considerable zeal and optimism, sharing her story in the hope that it will inspire other children and encourage the development of more effective treatments. "I can't undo my past," she says, "but if there was something to prevent other kids from getting arthritis, that would be so amazing." ◊



Youth

Ambassador:
Caitlin Ryan

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Ask your doctor about VIMOVO.

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* In 6-month clinical studies, compared with enteric-coated naproxen.

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VIMOVO is approved to relieve the signs and symptoms of osteoarthritis, rheumatoid arthritis, and ankylosing spondylitis, and to decrease the risk of stomach (gastric) ulcers in patients at risk of developing stomach ulcers from treatment with NSAIDs.

VIMOVO is not recommended as a starting treatment for relief of acute pain. Controlled studies do not extend beyond 6 months.

Important Safety Information

Like all medications that contain nonsteroidal anti inflammatory drugs (NSAIDs), VIMOVO may increase the chance of a heart attack or stroke that can lead to death. This chance increases with longer use of NSAID medicines, and in people who have heart disease. NSAID-containing medications, such as VIMOVO, should never be used before or after a type of heart surgery called coronary artery bypass graft (CABG). As with all medications that contain NSAIDs, VIMOVO may increase the chance of stomach and intestinal problems, such as bleeding or an ulcer, which can occur without warning and may cause death. Elderly patients are at greater risk for serious gastrointestinal events.

VIMOVO is not right for everyone, including patients who have had an asthma attack, hives, or other allergic reaction with aspirin or any other NSAID medicine, patients who are allergic to any of the ingredients in VIMOVO, or women in late stages of pregnancy.

Serious allergic reactions, including skin reactions, can occur without warning and can be life-threatening; discontinue use of VIMOVO at the first appearance of a skin rash, or if you develop sudden wheezing; swelling of the lips, tongue or throat; fainting; or problems swallowing.

VIMOVO should be used at the lowest dose and for the shortest amount of time as directed by your health care provider.

Tell your health care provider right away if you develop signs of active bleeding from any source.

VIMOVO can lead to onset of new hypertension or worsening of existing high blood pressure, either of which may contribute to an increased risk of a heart attack or stroke. Speak with your health care provider before starting VIMOVO if you:

- Have a history of ulcers or bleeding in the stomach or intestines.
- Have heart problems, high blood pressure, or are taking high blood pressure medications.
- Have kidney or liver problems.

Review all the medications, even over-the-counter medications, you are taking with your health care provider before starting VIMOVO. Talk to your health care provider about your risk for bone fractures if you take VIMOVO for a long period of time.

The most common side effects of VIMOVO include: inflammation of the lining of the stomach, indigestion, diarrhea, stomach ulcers, abdominal pain, and nausea.

For further information on VIMOVO, please see the brief summary of full Prescribing Information, including Boxed Warnings on adjacent pages.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

If you're without prescription coverage and can't afford your medication, AstraZeneca may be able to help. For more information, please visit www.astrazeneca-us.com.

Vimovo
(naproxen/esomeprazole magnesium)

375/20+500/20 mg delayed-release tablets

AstraZeneca

IMPORTANT INFORMATION ABOUT VIMOVO

Please read this summary carefully. It does not take the place of discussions with your doctor about the full Prescribing Information for VIMOVO and whether this drug is right for you.

WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT INFORMATION I SHOULD KNOW ABOUT VIMOVO?

VIMOVO, which contains naproxen [a nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drug (NSAID)] and esomeprazole magnesium [a proton pump inhibitor (PPI)], may increase the chance of a heart attack or stroke that can lead to death. This chance increases:

- with longer use of NSAID medicines
- in people who have heart disease
- NSAID medicines should never be used right before or after a heart surgery called a coronary artery bypass graft (CABG).
- NSAID medicines can cause ulcers and bleeding in the stomach and intestines at any time during treatment. Ulcers and bleeding can occur without warning symptoms
- may cause death

The chance of a person getting an ulcer or bleeding increases with:

- taking medicines called steroid hormones and blood thinners
- longer use
- smoking
- drinking alcohol
- older age
- having poor health

NSAID medicines should only be used:

- exactly as prescribed
- at the lowest dose possible for your treatment
- for the shortest time needed

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS OF NSAIDS?

Serious side effects include:

- heart attack
- stroke
- high blood pressure
- heart failure from body swelling (fluid retention)
- kidney problems including kidney failure
- bleeding and ulcers in the stomach and intestines
- low red blood cells (anemia)
- life-threatening skin reactions including allergic reactions
- liver problems including liver failure
- asthma attacks in people who have asthma

Other side effects include:

- stomach pain
- constipation
- diarrhea
- gas
- heartburn
- nausea
- vomiting
- dizziness

Get emergency help right away if you have any of the following symptoms:

- shortness of breath or trouble breathing

- chest pain
 - swelling in one part or side of your body
 - slurred speech
 - swelling of the face or throat
- Stop your NSAID medicine and call your health care provider right away if you have any of the following symptoms:**

- nausea
- you feel tired or weaker than usual
- itching
- your skin or eyes look yellow
- stomach pain
- flu-like symptoms
- vomit blood
- there is blood in your bowel movement, or it is black and sticky like tar
- skin rash or blisters with fever
- unusual weight gain
- swelling of the arms and legs, hands and feet

These are not all the possible side effects with NSAIDs.

WHAT IS VIMOVO?

VIMOVO is a prescription medicine used to:

- relieve signs and symptoms of osteoarthritis, rheumatoid arthritis, and ankylosing spondylitis
- decrease the risk of developing stomach (gastric) ulcers in people who are at risk of developing gastric ulcers with NSAIDs

It is not known if VIMOVO is safe or effective in children under the age of 18.

WHO SHOULD NOT TAKE VIMOVO?

Do not take VIMOVO

- If you had an asthma attack, hives, or other allergic reaction after taking aspirin or other NSAID medicine
- If you are allergic to any of the ingredients in VIMOVO
- If you are allergic to any other PPI medicine
- For pain right before or after heart bypass surgery
- If you are in the third trimester of pregnancy

WHAT SHOULD I TELL MY HEALTH CARE PROVIDER BEFORE TAKING VIMOVO?

Before you take VIMOVO, tell your health care provider about all your medical conditions and all the medicines you take, including prescription and non-prescription, vitamins, and herbal supplements. Talk to your health care provider before taking any other NSAID-containing products.

- Using VIMOVO with other medicines can cause serious side effects
- Talk to your health care provider if you are pregnant or breast-feeding. NSAID medicine should not be used by pregnant women late in their pregnancy

HOW SHOULD I TAKE VIMOVO?

- Take VIMOVO at least 30 minutes before a meal
- Swallow VIMOVO tablets whole with liquid. Do not split, chew, crush, or dissolve the VIMOVO tablet.
- You may use antacids while taking VIMOVO
- Do not change your dose or stop VIMOVO without first talking to your health care provider
- If you forget to take a dose of VIMOVO, take it as soon as you remember. If it is almost time for your next dose, do not take the missed dose. Take the next dose on time. Do not take 2 doses at one time to make up for a missed dose.
- If you take too much VIMOVO, tell your health care provider, go to the closest hospital emergency room right away, or call your Poison Control Center at 1-800-222-1222.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS OF VIMOVO?

Serious side effects may include:

- High blood pressure
- Heart problems such as congestive heart failure, heart attack, or stroke

OTHER INFORMATION ABOUT NONSTEROIDAL ANTI-INFLAMMATORY DRUGS (NSAIDS)

- Aspirin is an NSAID medicine but it does not increase the chance of heart attack. Aspirin can cause bleeding in the brain, stomach, and intestines. Aspirin can also cause ulcers in the stomach and intestines
- Some of these NSAID medicines are sold in lower doses without a prescription (over-the-counter). Talk to your health care provider before using over-the-counter NSAIDs for more than 10 days

NSAID medicines that need a prescription

Generic Name	Trade Name
Celecoxib	Celebrex
Diclofenac	Cataflam, Voltaren, Arthrotec (combined with misoprostol)
Diflunisal	Dolobid
Etoricoxib	Lodine, Lodine XL
Fenoprofen	Nalfon, Nalfon 200
Flurbiprofen	Ansaid
Ibuprofen	Motrin, Tab-Profen, Vicoprofen* (combined with hydrocodone), Combunox (combined with oxycodone)
Indomethacin	Indocin, Indocin SR, Indo-Lemmon, Indomethacin
Ketoprofen	Oruvail
Ketorolac	Toradol
Mefenamic Acid	Ponstel
Meloxicam	Mobic
Nabumetone	Relafen
Naproxen	Naprosyn, Anaprox, Anaprox DS, EC-Naproxyn, Naprelan, VIMOVO
Oxaprozim	Daypro
Piroxicam	Feldene
Sulindac	Clinoril
Tolectin	Tolectin, Tolectin DS, Tolectin 800

*Vimoxyd contains the same generic ingredients as over-the-counter (OTC) NSAIDs, and is usually used for less than 10 days to treat pain. The OTC NSAID label warns that long-term continuous use may increase the risk of heart attack or stroke.

For more information, call 1-800-236-9933 or go to www.VIMOVO.com. VIMOVO is a trademark of the AstraZeneca group of companies. Other trademarks are the property of their respective companies.

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- Active bleeding
- Serious allergic reactions
- Serious skin reactions
- Liver problems
- Bone fracture

Tell your health care provider or get emergency help right away if you have any of the following symptoms:

- chest pain, weakness, or slurred speech
- trouble breathing or wheezing
- swelling of face, throat, or body
- severe skin blisters or peeling
- blood in your bowel movement or it is black and sticky like tar
- yellowing of skin or eyes

The most common side effects of VIMOVO include:

- inflammation of the lining of the stomach
- indigestion
- diarrhea
- stomach ulcers
- stomach pain
- nausea

These are not all the possible side effects of VIMOVO. Call your health care provider for medical advice about side effects.

You may report side effects to the FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

Vimovo
(naproxen/esomeprazole magnesium)
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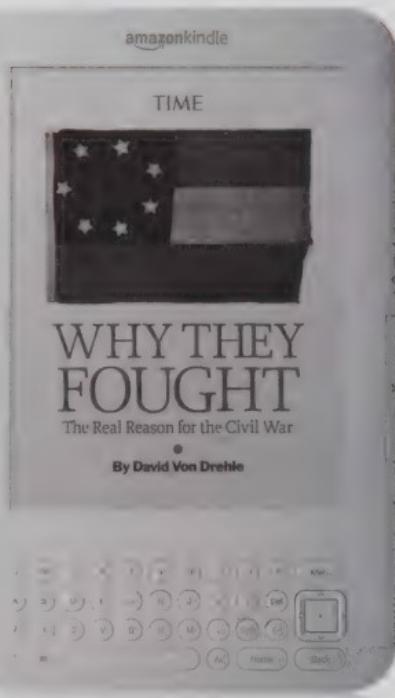
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150 YEARS LATER...

History textbooks say that the Civil War began with the shelling of Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861. So how is that many years later, we are still fighting over why the war was fought? Few historical questions stir up as much passionate confusion as that one — even though scholars consider it a settled question.

In this Kindle Single, veteran TIME writer David Von Drehle explores the process of forgetting, denying, and rediscovering the meaning of the Civil War.

TIME's *Why They Fought* is available exclusively on **Amazon.com** as a Kindle Single. Search "**Why They Fought**" in the Kindle store or go to www.time.com/civilwaronkindle



Also from TIME — a large format hardcover book observing the 150th anniversary, *The Civil War: An Illustrated History*, is available wherever books are sold. Or go to www.time.com/civilwarbook to order your copy today.

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Just Thaw And Serve

Using borrowed modeling software, researchers show that towing icebergs to water short regions could be a viable business

BY THOMAS K. GROSE

WATER SHORTAGES PLAGUE A FIFTH of southern Europe. And with temperatures in the region forecast to rise several degrees this century—reducing rainfall another 30%—things will only get worse. Several thousand miles to the northwest, however, global warming is increasing the number of icebergs calving off Greenland; they now number about 15,000 a year. "An iceberg is a floating reservoir. And water from icebergs is the purest water ... It was formed some 10,000 years ago," explains French engineer and eco-entrepreneur Georges Mougin. All those bergs eventually dissolve in the ocean's brine. Such a waste, he says. Why not capture and haul some of them to Europe's arid south?

The idea of towing icebergs to the world's thirstiest regions goes back to the



Potable and portable?
A 3-D rendering of
the process of towing an
iceberg in the North Atlantic

**How-to**

First, enclose the berg with a huge belt. Next, release an insulating net from the belt to contain the ice and reduce melting. Then use ocean currents to help maneuver the tug and cut down on drag.

In the 1950s, Mougin began looking seriously at the concept in the mid-1970s. Technologies to handle such a massive undertaking didn't exist then. But they do now, thanks to Mougin, who at 86 is still working full tilt. A few years ago, he came up with the idea to enclose the bottom half of an iceberg with a skirt fashioned from insulating geotextile material to reduce melting en route. Then he imagined a scenario in which ocean currents could be used to help steer the tugboat pulling the iceberg and drastically reduce fuel consumption—a principle Mougin calls assisted drift. But a trial tow of a 7-million-ton iceberg would cost about \$10 million—a sum that chilled investors.

The problem was that he couldn't show them his vision—until now. Thanks to a virtual-reality boost from French software company Dassault Systèmes, he can simulate an iceberg's entire journey from Newfoundland to the Canary Islands. The collaboration is part of an effort by Dassault, which sells high-end product-testing software to such companies as Boeing and Toyota, to offer modeling expertise to researchers like Mougin whose lofty ideas often dwarf their budgets.

Two years ago, Dassault placed its 3-D-imaging technologies and 15 of its engineers at Mougin's disposal. Many hours and algorithms later, the team concluded recently that Mougin's big idea would work. One standard-size tug traveling at 1 knot, using assisted drift, could get a skirted 7-million-ton berg to the Canaries in about 141 days with only 38% of it melting. Better yet, larger bergs would lose proportionately less, because the amount of ice that melts off the sides is fairly static.

Mougin was inspired to approach Dassault after watching a documentary that used the company's 3-D modeling to bring to life architect Jean-Pierre Houdin's theory on how the Great Pyramids

mid of Giza was built. Dassault believes sharing the modeling software is a high-profile way to show off the cool things its products can do while simultaneously supporting scientific inquiry. "It's a way to contribute to the community of innovators," says Cédric Simard, project director. Aside from supporting innovators, Dassault gives the software to French and U.S. programs aimed at improving science, technology and engineering education in schools.

Engineers on the iceberg project charted the journey under numerous scenarios. The model relied heavily on historical meteorologic and oceanographic data as well as forecasts in real time culled from satellites, buoys and balloons. Temperature, salinity, winds, swells, currents and eddies were all calculated; the model even factored in a fierce storm on day 22 of a trip. "The storm was no problem," Simard says. "Just like a supertanker survives one, it's really no different." The model was also able to track the melt rate and the tugboat's fuel consumption.

Using 3-D glasses, Mougin's team virtually examined the berg from all angles and inspected both the insulation skirt and the seine used to capture and tow it. "You can dive down the side of it. You can land on top of it. It's a godlike feeling, which makes it a very attractive form of simulation," says Peter Wadhams, a professor of ocean

physics at Cambridge University. He's one of a team of experts who have been advising Mougin over the years. The 3-D imagery was so enthralling, some of it was later used in a TV documentary about Mougin's quest, *Ice Dream*, which has aired in France and several other European countries.

While ultimately proving Mougin's theories were correct, the simulation wasn't without drama. Indeed, the first trial was a disaster, which confirmed the wisdom of modeling. The simulated tug hit a huge eddy and spent a month circling in place before moving on, resulting in too much melting and heavy fuel consumption. Despite some initial hand-wringing, the necessary fix proved quite simple: moving the departure date from mid-May to mid-June. "Voilà, there were no more eddies in our route, and within about four months we did it," Simard says. "The first lesson simulation taught us was, if you want to do this project, choose the best departure date."

The next step for Mougin is to secure funding—from \$2.96 million to \$4.44 million—for a pilot study using a smaller fragment of ice to give the theory a real-world test. He and Wadhams got an encouraging response but no money when they sought a European Union grant a few years ago, but that was before the Dassault simulation. They expect the 3-D visuals will improve their chances of landing a grant or a commercial partner. "The 3-D simulation makes it all look and feel doable," Wadhams says.

Mougin hopes to launch the pilot test next year and advance to a full-scale trial a year or two later. He's also confident of the gambit's commercial potential and has formed a company called WPI (Water and Power from Icebergs) to exploit it. After nearly 40 years of effort, Mougin anticipates serving frozen drinks en masse soon.

'An iceberg is a floating reservoir. And water from icebergs is the purest water.'

—GEORGES MOUGIN



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Getting Rich Doing Good

Social-impact bonds fund programs that target critical issues like recidivism.

Investors can earn profits; the public gets better quality of life while saving tax dollars

BY THOMAS K. GROSE/LONDON

AS BEN FRANKLIN NOTED, AN OUNCE of prevention is worth a pound of cure—and that's true not only for health care but also for a host of social problems, including crime, homelessness and teen pregnancy. But governments aren't particularly good at funding preventive services. Spending tax dollars on programs whose outcomes are not immediately obvious—or guaranteed—is a hard sell for politicians, even though these investments may eventually save big bucks years down the road by, say, cutting crime and prison populations.

The market may overcome the prevention predicament with the social-





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impact bond (SIB), a new investment product created by Social Finance, a London private-equity firm that backs social entrepreneurs. Funded by private investors (including charities), SIBs—which are also gaining traction among U.S. investors and policymakers—aim to finance long-term preventive programs run by nonprofit groups to tackle tough social issues that cost taxpayers money. But investors can also gain a financial return. How? Governments pay for a program's success. If an SIB-funded program mitigates a problem by meeting measurable targets, that saves the government money, and a portion of the savings is used to repay the bondholders with interest. But the bonds are not government backed: if the social project fails to meet its targets, investors are out of pocket, and the government doesn't pay a penny.

Social Finance's first and, so far, only SIB was launched in September: 17 investors, including the Rockefeller Foundation, bought bonds totaling about \$8 million to finance an eight-year project led by the nonprofit St. Giles Trust to reduce recidivism among low-level criminals, who in the U.K. have a reconviction rate of 60%. Each recidivist costs the government more than \$200,000 a year in judicial and incarceration costs. St. Giles' program, Through the Gates, uses peer advisers—most of whom are ex-cons—to mentor newly released prisoners and counsel them on issues ranging from housing to employment and training to drug and alcohol abuse. The program will target 3,000 male ex-offenders released from Peterborough Prison in Cambridgeshire. If it cuts the reconviction rate by 7.5% or more compared with a control group, investors will recoup their money plus a graduated return that is capped at 13% a year.

SIBs are the most innovative instrument in a growth area of finance known as social investing or impact investing, which offers to help investors do well by doing

\$300 MILLION

Amount in social-investment instruments in Britain

\$1 TRILLION

Potential size of the global social-impact-investing market in 10 years

good. "Investing simultaneously for financial returns and social returns is not mutually exclusive," explains David Hutchison, Social Finance's CEO. A recent report from investment bank JPMorgan argues that "impact investments are emerging as an alternative asset class" that channels "large-scale private capital for social benefit."

In Britain, an estimated \$300 million has already been poured into social investments, and Hutchison expects that figure to grow quickly. That growth could be abetted by the plan of Britain's coalition government to set up a "Big Society bank" for impact investing that's initially funded with \$495 million—\$330 million from the country's four biggest commercial banks and \$165 million more from unclaimed assets in orphaned accounts. Moreover, if U.K. charitable trusts, which are sitting on assets totaling \$115 billion, put just 5% of that capital into impact investing, it would enlarge the market by an additional \$5.7 billion. JPMorgan calculates that the global social-investment market could swell over the next decade to anywhere from \$400 billion to \$1 trillion, generating profits of \$183 billion to \$667 billion.

The need for social investing is acute, the JPMorgan report claims, because the scope of so many of the world's social problems simply overwhelms government and charity funding. Because many outstanding nonprofits are dependent on the vagaries of unpredictable grants and state funding, their ability to expand their operations is limited. In the U.S., 85% of nonprofits have incomes of \$100,000 or less. "Revenue is in short supply, and [nonprofits] haven't the ability to grow from five employees to

5,000," says Toby Eccles, Social Finance's development director. Moreover, private investors typically have a greater appetite for risk than do government funding agencies.

So far, investors tend to be high-net-worth individuals, trusts and foundations. Many charitable trusts sit on huge asset bases and rely on interest from that cash to fund their works. But social investments, with their potential returns, would also let those trusts tap into a portion of these assets and put it to use. Institutional investors are likely to enter the market once social investments have established a verifiable track record. Insurance companies could find impact investment particularly alluring, since they would also stand to benefit financially from outcomes like lower crime rates.

The Obama White House is interested. The President's proposed budget for the 2011 fiscal year sets aside \$100 million in seed money for a trial of what it calls Pay for Success bonds. Social Finance—which set up a U.S. office in Boston in January at the suggestion of several large foundations, including the Rockefeller Foundation—has advised Administration officials on SIBs. It's also talking to several U.S. states, municipalities and nonprofits about appropriate projects for SIBs, mostly in the areas of adult and juvenile corrections and homelessness. Tracy Palandjian, CEO of Social Finance's U.S. arm, warns that SIBs will work only with organizations that have good track records and offer solutions whose outcomes can be clearly measured. "We're not in the business of funding start-ups," he says.

But an increasing number of social-impact funds are using traditional forms of funding, including equity and venture capital, to give fledgling social entrepreneurs a boost. London's Bridges Ventures, for example, has \$250 million under management in three funds that invest in businesses—not all of them nonprofits—that strive to achieve positive social or environmental change.

St. Giles head Rob Owen, meanwhile, is confident that the bondholders funding the Through the Gates project will realize a return on their investment. A recent report by Pro Bono Economics, which studied a smaller, earlier version of the program, determined that it successfully reduced reconviction rates by 11% to 18% and that for every pound invested in the program, the government reaped a savings of £1.0. That's an ounce of prevention worth millions of pounds.

'Revenue is in short supply, and [nonprofits] haven't the ability to grow from five employees to 5,000.'

—TOBY ECCLES, DEVELOPMENT DIRECTOR AT SOCIAL FINANCE



Neighborhoods powered by parks.

An underground substation built by Siemens helps make Anaheim a city worth building a future in.

As the residents of Anaheim, California, walk their dogs in the morning, few realize there's a substation right under their feet distributing power throughout their neighborhood.

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The (almost)
septuagenarian back
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PAGE 62

The Culture

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Pop Chart


**GOOD WEEK /
BAD WEEK**
Maori Heads

A French museum returned the mummified skull of a Maori warrior to New Zealand after years of wrangling.

Maori Tattoos

Tattoo artist S. Victor Whitmill sued Warner Bros. for reproducing in *The Hangover* sequel a design that he inked on Moze's face in 2003.

MOVIES
FDR with a Smirk

No, you're not alone. It's also been our dream to see Bill Murray act while clutching an old-timey cigarette holder. He's been cast as Franklin D. Roosevelt in *Hyde Park on Hudson* (directed by *Notting Hill*'s Roger Mitchell), which will recount the King and Queen of England's 1939 trip to FDR's country estate.



COMING FULL CIRCLE Thirty years after his first show in Paris, British sculptor Anish Kapoor returned to the French capital May 10 to unveil "Leviathan," his giant-balloon installation, in the nave of the Grand Palais. Kapoor dedicated the artwork, on display through June 23, to fellow artist and activist Ai Weiwei, who has been detained by the Chinese government since April 3.

VERBATIM

'I wouldn't be surprised if there is some Oscar talk around this.'

VIN DIESEL, on his latest movie, *Fast Five*; the beefy actor added that just because the flick is geared toward "working class" people doesn't mean it isn't great.


VIRAL VIDEOS
Is Bolton Back?

Michael Bolton has apparently realized that self-mockery can be a positive career move. *SNL*'s latest digital short—in which the '90s crooner dresses up like characters from *Pirates of the Caribbean*, *Erin Brockovich* and *Scarface*—notched millions of YouTube views in just a few days. And how could it not? With a chorus that goes "A mystical quest to the isle of Tortuga! Raven locks sway on the ocean breeze," the song will be everywhere this summer, we predict.



TRANSPORTATION

Another Decade, Another Big Yellow Taxi

New York City's iconic cabs are getting a makeover following a three-year competition for a new model. Though the winning Nissan design screams "soccer-mom minivan," it also sports USB ports to charge gadgets and an engine that could one day be all-electric. One thing that will definitely not be changing? That bright yellow paint job. There are some things you just can't mess with.

**A Pair of X Idols**

A feeling of *déjà vu* accompanied the announcement of *The X Factor's* judging lineup. Simon Cowell and Paula Abdul—formerly of *American Idol*—will be joined by record exec L.A. Reid and British pop star Cheryl Cole. We suspect the talent show is just an excuse for a Simon and Paula reunion.

**CELEBRITY
Curious Newborn Names**

There's no word on whether Alicia Silverstone's animal-rights activism led her to name her son Bear. Still, she's part of a Hollywood tradition. Here's a look at the inspiration for five celeb baby names:

MOROCCAN

Mariah Carey

Named after the decor of the singer's penthouse room, which is also where hubby Nick Cannon proposed.

PILOT INSPEKTOR

Jason Lee

Inspired (loosely, we hope) by the Grand-daddy song "He's Simple, He's Dumb, He's the Pilot."

MOXIE CRIMEFIGHTER

Penn Jillette

The first half comes from the name of the U.S.'s first national soda; the second half will endear her to cops, Jillette hopes.

JERMAJESTY

Jermaine Jackson

For some, being rock-n-roll royalty is just like being real royalty. Right?

KAL-EL

Nicolas Cage

Those who can't play Superman simply name their sons after the superhero.

VERBATIM

'I shouldn't be saying this, but he was kind of a brat.'

MARG HELGENBERGER, actress on *CSI*, about pop-sensation Justin Bieber, who guest-starred twice on the show. Helgenberger alleged that Bieber put his fist through a cake and "left behind one of the producers in a closet."



ART

Star Light, Star Bright

MIT's campus was ablaze for FAST Light, the concluding event of a three-month-long festival to celebrate the university's 150th birthday. This May 7 exhibition (above), dubbed "Sky Event," featured a massive, helium-filled, illuminated star crafted by Otto Piene, a former MIT professor. A team of students and alumni helped arrange and inflate the towering work of art in just a few hours. At night, the star (and others like it) floated above the crowds while volunteers on the ground tethered it to keep it from drifting away into the clouds.

5 THINGS YOU DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THIS WEEK

1. Charlie Sheen as musical inspiration. Snoop Dogg's awful "Winning" will not start a trend.

2. Warren Buffett's sense of humor. It's alive and well; he will appear on the season finale of *The Office*.

3. Your toddler's future as a movie exec. A big screen blockbuster called *Dinosaurs vs. Aliens* is in the works.

4. Paul McCartney's faith in marriage. Not long after a \$50 million divorce settlement, Macca is newly engaged.

5. Feeding your Ken Burns addiction. His *Prohibition* will air on PBS this fall, and he will be a regular on the new Keith Olbermann show.

Music

Monsters Inc. Lady Gaga's "little monsters" are the hardest-working fans in show business

By Douglas Wolk

WHEN "JUDAS" CAME TO THEM, they were ready. Lady Gaga's latest music video premiered on May 5, and within hours, her fans—her "little monsters," as they call themselves—were responding in droves. Nicolina Asaro, a 20-year-old accounting student from Staten Island, N.Y., retro-engineered Gaga's "Judas" makeup, including her filigreed Egyptian eyeliner design, and posted a tutorial on YouTube. A 15-year-old from Finland who goes by the name Minzana uploaded an intricate pencil drawing of Gaga holding her "Judas" lipstick gun, which quickly made the rounds of many Gaga fan sites. Ten-year-old Timmy DeMott shot a video of himself singing "Judas" using his family's kitchen as a stage and a banana as a microphone. Lady Gaga linked to DeMott's video on Twitter ("What a banana cutie!"). And when Gaga tweets, people pay attention. She has nearly 9.9 million followers—more than anyone else, including Justin Bieber and President Obama. Her Twitter bio is two words long: "mother monster."

There is much that is superlative and unprecedented about Gaga, from her seemingly overnight success (she's the first artist to hit No. 1 on

Billboard's Pop Songs chart with her first five singles) to her spectacular sense of presentation (who else would arrive at the Grammys in a giant translucent egg, then hatch out of it for her performance?). But what might be the most over-the-top thing about Gaga—more than the meat dress or the horns protruding from her skin in the "Born This Way" video or the triple platinum sales of her debut album, *The Fame*—is her obsessive, abundantly creative fan base. And true to her innovative spirit, Gaga has forged a reciprocal relationship with her acolytes unlike that of any other pop-music icon. "They are the kings. They are the queens," declares Gaga, who has **LITTLE MONSTERS** tattooed on her left arm. "I am something of a devoted jester." (Imagine how bizarre this would sound coming from the imperious likes of Madonna or Kanye West.) That unconditional devotion is expressed in the b-e-y-ourself anthem "Born This Way," the first single off her new album of the same name (out May 23).

Of course, no matter how many declarations of love and reverence Gaga makes from the stage or her keyboard ("Been crying reading all your beautiful messages for my new song," she tweeted on May 9 after she released the power disco track "The Edge of Glory"), devotion is not the same as intimacy. The mother monster doesn't even pretend to let her fan children get close to Stefani

Gaga
in Mexico City on
May 6

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW SHAW; STYLING: JESSICA MCKEE



Born that way. A trio of
Gaga fans pose prior to a
concert in Miami.





Performance art *Gaga* concertgoers in Yokohama, Japan, above, and St. Petersburg, Fla.



Germanotta, the 25-year-old beneath the wigs and latex. What Gaga is selling is a perfectly mannered facade. As she put it last year, "I would rather die than have my fans not see me in a pair of high heels."

She's also selling adoration, appreciation and a tribal sense of protection. Gaga is particularly committed to gay-rights causes; she's donating part of the proceeds from a remix of "Born This Way" to the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network. Most of all, she inspires little monsters to *make stuff*—to consume her product, yes, but also to create their own. Gaga's network of disciples is a subculture unto itself, with its own language ("Put your paws up!") is a little-monsters rallying cry derived from a dance move in the "Bad Romance" video) and its own celebrities. Michelle Phan's YouTube guide to replicating Gaga's "Poker Face" look—silver eye shadow, lightning bolt—has been viewed over 27 million times. Anna Chong, a recent graduate of the London College of Fashion, constructed a line of Gaga-inspired doll outfits for the toy company Harumika (Chong's fabric of choice for the meat dress: Parma ham). When young cartoonist Elena Barbarich created a poster for the "Telephone" video, starring Gaga and Beyoncé, Gaga called it brilliant on Twitter—spurring another fan to have the image tattooed on his torso (on his right side, which in monsterville is a bit of a faux pas: Lady Gaga promised her father she would leave the right side of her body tattoo-free, and many of her ink-stained fans follow suit).

Ryan-Lee Johnson, a 20-year-old student from Liverpool who co-manages the perpetually updated Lady Gaga News site, might be the archetypal little monster: he credits her with transforming his life. Two years ago, Johnson was depressed, overweight and estranged from his mother after coming out to her. Then he caught a video of Gaga insisting that "anyone can feel famous—they just have to feel good about themselves to release their inner fame." It was an epiphany. "Gaga is the first person ever to tell me that it's O.K. to be different and it's O.K. to be gay," says Johnson. "It inspired me to lose weight—I've lost about 80 pounds since then—and it gave me so much confidence."

When 17-year-old Drew Tabor of Los Angeles posted her own solo acoustic performance of "Judas" on YouTube, Gaga linked to it on Twitter ("beautiful... shows the true meaning of the song," she wrote). "I used to be a lot more shy and not really sure of who I was," Tabor says. "She really shows me that it's O.K. to just be who you are, even if it's kinda weird."

That quasi maternal reassurance turns up again and again in little monsters' testimonials about their idol. Whereas other young women in pop (like Rihanna and Britney Spears) present themselves as objects of desire, Gaga frames herself as her fans' ever loving mother figure—eccentric and scantily clad, yes, but Mom all the way. In March she asked little monsters to submit questions to her via YouTube: "I'll let you know when [the answers go] up, and remember, you're all amazing and I love you so, so much. I'll see you soon." That's not the tone of a pop vamp flirting with her audience. It's the tone of a note tucked into a child's lunch box.

Scan the crowd at a Gaga concert, though, and you'll notice that a lot of little monsters aren't much younger than the mother monster herself. A pop star's audience tends to be kids who are feeling their first stirrings of desire (whether it's for a Jonas Brother or a New Kid on the Block), but many of Gaga's faithful are their older siblings, who feel confused and frustrated about their identities. That means they're also old enough to recognize—as Gaga clearly does—the sublime absurdity of a stranger in a see-through dress dispensing advice on how to become who you are. "You give me so much inspiration," she told an audience at New York's Nassau Coliseum a few weeks ago. "You liberate me." Gaga's theater of gratitude is—to be sure—another pose, another wig, another extravagant costume. But coming from her, that means it's the real thing.

Gaga has forged a relationship with her fans unlike that of any other pop-music icon

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J.P.MORGAN'S AFGHAN GOLD GAMBLE By James Bandler

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HOW CATERPILLAR IS TOTALLY CRUSHING IT By Geoff Colvin

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SPEAKING OUT ON THE FUTURE OF FORD By Bill Ford

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OBAMA'S BIG-BUSINESS WHISPERER By Nina Easton

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**1961**

Visits Woody Guthrie, who is dying of Huntington's disease, in a New Jersey hospital. He then composes "Song to Woody," his "first song... of any substantial importance."

1961

Arrives in New York City in January and starts performing under the name Bob Dylan at folk clubs like Cafe Wha?

1962

Legally changes his last name to Dylan and releases his first album, *Bob Dylan*; it sells 5,000 copies. Rents his first apartment for \$60 a month.

**1963**

Joan Baez invites Dylan to sing with her at the Newport Folk Festival in June. They perform his new hit, "Blowin' in the Wind." Their romance fizzles out, but for the next 40 years, the two will periodically appear together in concert.

**1963**

'Bobby Dylan says what a lot of people my age feel but cannot say.'

JOAN BAEZ: "Blowin' in the Wind" cemented Dylan's most covered songs, would become a Civil Rights anthem.

**1965**

Dylan marries Sara Lowndes on Nov. 22. They will have four children together.

1966

The anti-electric backlash continues when an enraged heckler shouts "Judas!" during Dylan's May 17 Manchester Free Trade Hall concert. Dylan is unfazed.

1965

At Newport in July, Dylan appears with a full band to showcase his new electric sound, typified by "Like a Rolling Stone." Folksies call him a sellout, though reports of boozing are greatly exaggerated. People might just as easily have been upset that his set lasted only 15 minutes.

**1965**

During an interview with TIME, Dylan rails against his interviewer, Horace Judson, and dismisses the magazine as "small and concise and there's nothing in it." Judson is widely believed to be the inspiration for the obnoxious Mr. Jones in "Ballad of a Thin Man," of which Dylan writes: "Something is happening, but you don't know what it is; do you, Mr. Jones?"

**1964**

Dylan visits the Beatles in their N.Y.C. hotel room and, according to Paul McCartney, introduces them to pot. While stoned, McCartney discovers the meaning of life and writes it down. The next morning he re-reads the note, it says: "There are seven levels!"

2001

Biographer Howard Sounes reveals Dylan's secret 1968 marriage to former backup singer Carolyn Dennis. The couple had one child and divorced in 1992.

2004

Dylan appears in a Victoria's Secret commercial. Luckily, he is clothed.

2009

Every decades-spanning career needs at least one Christmas album.

2007

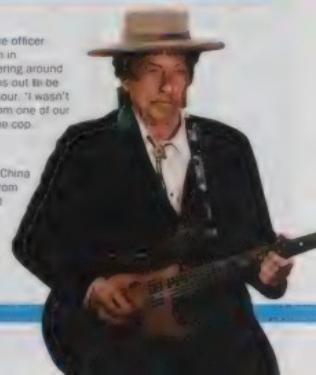
Todd Haynes' biopic *I'm Not There* features six actors playing Dylan, including Cate Blanchett, below.

**2009**

A New Jersey police officer arrests an old man in sweatpants wandering around in the rain. He turns out to be Dylan, in town on tour. "I wasn't sure if he came from one of our hospitals," says the cop.

2011

Dylan performs in China for the first time, from a playlist approved by the authorities. Apparently they didn't notice the lyrics of "All Along the Watchtower."



Performers
aren't
when I had
trip.'

house Mermaid Avenue
compositions Dylan had
nearly 40 years earlier

Health



Bad-Mouthing Gluten. What's behind the craze for gluten-free food?

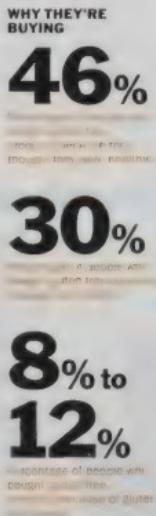
By Katy Steinmetz

FOR THE ESTIMATED 1% OF THE POPULATION with celiac disease, gluten is a kryptonite that can trigger digestive distress and cause long-term health problems. (It's also problematic for a slice with less severe gluten sensitivity, though there are no solid numbers on its prevalence.) But for the vast majority of us, gluten is a harmless protein found in grains like wheat, rye and barley that is best known for giving bread its fluffiness.

Nonetheless, "gluten free" has become a major selling point, as if it were a synonym for "low carb." Gluten-free Betty Crocker cake mix and gluten-free beer now line grocery-store shelves. There are gluten-free menus, gluten-free Communion wafers and gluten-free lifestyle tips from the likes of Gwyneth Paltrow. Americans spent a record \$2.6 billion last year to banish gluten from their lives, about the same amount they spent on cat food.

But it is the trend followers rather than the celiac sufferers who are doing the bulk of the buying. A recent survey by market-research firm Packaged Facts showed that only 8% to 12% of people who purchased gluten-free products did so because of gluten intolerance. Most simply thought these products were healthier or of higher quality or could help them manage their weight.

"It's becoming extremely fashionable



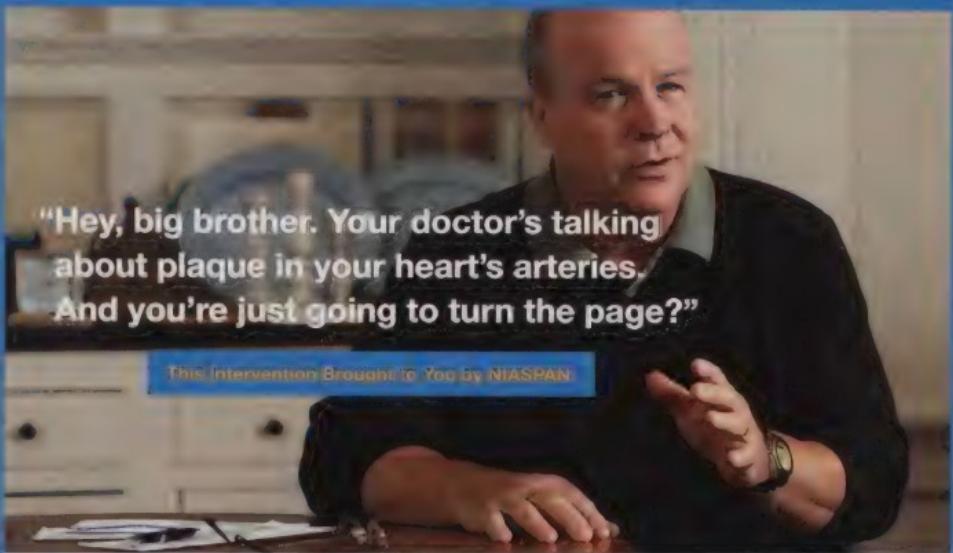
to the point that it's almost alarming," says Dr. Stefano Guandalini, founder and director of the Celiac Disease Center at the University of Chicago. He and other gluten gurus say most people on gluten-free diets don't actually need to be: they've either jumped on the bandwagon or misdiagnosed themselves as gluten-sensitive, a condition that can't be tested for and is treated only by changes in diet.

Food manufacturers are rushing to get a slice of the market, but the Food and Drug Administration has yet to set a standard for gluten-free labeling. That's hardly dire for people avoiding gluten for nonmedical reasons, but for those with celiac disease, a tiny amount can cause a severe autoimmune reaction. And without regulation, the risk of that happening increases. "Vendors or restaurants will feel it's just a fad, it's another crazy diet and it doesn't matter what we feed to these people," says Tiara Rogers, 34, who has a close friend with celiac disease.

Rogers recently gathered with other activists in Washington to pressure the FDA (and to garner attention by building a 11-foot, 64-layer gluten-free cake). One event fresh on their minds was a mislabeling case in North Carolina, where a con man slapped "gluten free" on regular bread, making dozens sick. He was given an 11-year prison sentence last month.

Many health experts stress that gluten is not a dietary evil. "Think of all the populations on the globe that have existed on wheat or other products that have gluten in them," says Barry Popkin, a nutrition professor at the University of North Carolina. As for supposed weight-loss benefits, a gluten-free pretzel is not going to take off pounds any faster than a regular pretzel. In fact, if you avoid only gluten, rather than the carb-packed foods it's typically in, you will likely be getting more calories with fewer nutrients, says Guandalini, because many substitutes end up being high in surrogate carbs and low in fiber. That's why celiac patients who go on prescribed gluten-free diets often see their body mass indexes increase, not decrease.

Of course, people are free to eat what they wish, but "a gluten-free diet is not necessarily a healthy diet," says Dr. Peter Green of Columbia University's Celiac Disease Center. "It's something people seem to take on without being aware of the effects."



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Joel Stein



Following the Leader

Sure, you follow the President on Twitter. But can you make him follow you?

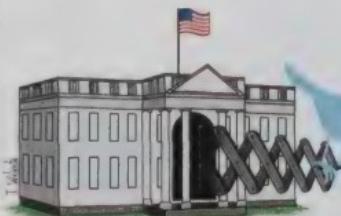
IT'S IMPORTANT FOR THE PRESIDENT OF the United States to get as much information from as many sources as possible, but Obama may be overdoing it. His Twitter account—the third most popular, after Lady Gaga's and Justin Bieber's—has signed up for updates from 697,726 people, more than anyone else on the entire site. In addition to security briefings from the Director of National Intelligence and jobs reports from the Office of Management and Budget, the President gets news from Miss Xplicit, Orgasmblushh, bikini model Krystal Starr, NoBama and Athena the Dog, a jiu-jitsu-loving canine that tweets regularly despite having died last month. He also gets updates from the rapper Trey Songz like "Trinidad what up!!! Looking forward to the sand & the beeeaaachheeeeezzzz!!!!"

I totally get that the leader of the free world has to keep up on the death-metal music scene in Indonesia, so when the band Lifeless writes, "After lot of discussion, finally our guitarist is resign for 2nd time," he's the first to know. But it seems equally crucial that he know that I find ending a letter with *Sincerely* to be very insincere. And yet the President is not following me on Twitter.

To figure out how to rectify this I called the rapper N.O.R.E. and asked what his trick was. A few years ago, N.O.R.E. was jealous after Soulja Boy bragged that Obama followed him on Twitter: "I said, I'd love to have the President follow me on Twitter. And I checked, and he was following me!" N.O.R.E. has two theories as to how this happened. One: "In 1998, Obama was a professor. I'm sure some of his kids were playing 'Superthug.' Who's to say he wasn't listening to that?" Two: "Every so often I'd say, 'Hey, @BarackObama, way

too much Hennessy for me. Hangover time. See you next week, my brother.'" N.O.R.E. suggested I try something like that to get the President's attention. I considered tweeting, "Hey, @BarackObama, supercool eating organic buffalo burgers and watching *Parks and Recreation* on the couch with you and my wife," but it sounded creepy.

Obama is also following Ben Wu, my college roommate and godfather to my son. Until I called, Ben didn't even know the President was following him.



But he wasn't at all excited, figuring it was due to an auto follow option. "There's no reason he would follow me," Ben said. "Look at my tweet history." If our President doesn't care about Ben's love for Costco's customer service and his ironic observation that the PGA Tour rules officially is named Slugger White, then that's an America I don't want to live in.

Because Obama follows him, Ben can send the President direct messages on Twitter. We decided to send him a message asking if he would show his friend Ben, and only his friend Ben, the photos of dead Osama bin Laden. But Ben didn't want to get on any kind of weird White House terrorist lists. So instead Ben sent the President a message asking him to follow me.

When I didn't hear anything from the White House, I called the Administration directly to beg Obama to follow me.

It turns out the Administration runs a separate White House Twitter account that follows only people like the President of Chile, FEMA, the National Zoo and Idaho. The @BarackObama account was opened more than four years ago by his campaign, the theme of which was about how we were all going to be the change or have one big Twitter account or something. To be polite, the campaign decided to follow everyone who followed him. As crazy as that sounds, the same policy was employed by the British Prime Minister (David Cameron follows 403,254 people, including aPimpNamedJasz) and the former Prime Minister of Australia (Kevin Rudd follows 289,214 people, including Maggie Big Boobs). During the 2008 campaign, Obama volunteers pressed Follow on Twitter more than 600,000 times, which sounds tedious until you consider their other option was talking to voters on the telephone. Once he won, they stopped following new people.

But after it became clear I would not get off the phone, Katie Hogan, the deputy press secretary for Obama's re-election campaign, agreed. "Yes, we can follow you, Joel," she informed me. I am now the 697,996th person the President is following. It's a lot of pressure trying to write clever tweets while knowing that they might be read by someone who works for the deputy press secretary for the Obama re-election campaign.

I hope Katie reads the President my recent tweet: "Ever since the iPhone came out, adults have really caught up with 3-year-olds on the parallel play thing." He can use it in conversation with Michelle and claim it's his, since she doesn't have a Twitter account. But if she gets one, I'm totally calling her office until she follows me.

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2011 TIME 100 honoree Amy Poehler arrives on the red carpet.



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The press prepares for red carpet arrivals at the Time Warner Center.



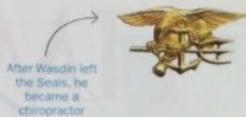
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10 Questions



After Wasdin left the SEALs, he became a chiropractor

Former Navy SEAL Howard Wasdin explains how the elite Team 6 squad prepares for a mission like Abbottabad

What would have been the training for the team that went into Abbottabad?

I'm gonna put 50 lb. [23 kg] of equipment on you, give you two weapons and a sidearm, and we're going to go up and down stairs all day long, clearing rooms. Some of them will be barricaded, some of them will have little kids in them, some of them will have people with machine guns, and we're going to do this all damn day, every day, until I come over and wake you up in the middle of the night and say, "Let's go!"

The operation was capture or kill. How do you know when to shoot?

It's based on what the person is doing when we show up. In a capture mission, you're putting yourself at more risk. You make that decision in a split second. Does he have a gun? Is he being compliant? The more you do it, the more adept you get at it.

So why did the team make the choice to kill Osama bin Laden?

The guys in the room made that decision. If you want to be in a position to make those types of decisions, go join the team. Otherwise, just say thank you.

You're engaged in stressful missions almost constantly as

part of SEAL Team 6. Do you need a particular attitude in order to succeed?

I can take just about anyone and make them physically strong. A lot of people showed up at [training] who were much more physically capable than I was, athletes in phenomenal shape, and they were the first to quit. Mental toughness is a must to even make it

through training, much less through combat.

What's the most mentally challenging part?

Getting ready, gearing up and then having to stage down. That's the most stressful part.

The mission in Pakistan was planned for months. Why did they wait so long to act?

You're waiting for the intelligence to come in. And when it does come in, how credible is it? I pay these guys to give me intelligence; is this one just stringing me along? Is he a

moron, or is he setting me up for an ambush? You've got to evaluate the intelligence.

You returned from the battle of Mogadishu with three bullets in your leg, forcing your retirement and leaving you with chronic pain. What prompted you to write your memoir, *SEAL Team 6*?

I returned with PTSD, and I didn't even know I had it. I thought it was weakness. But my wife always told me this would be great therapy for me, and I kept saying, "Come on, quit saying that I need therapy." But she was so right. After I finished this book, I felt so much better.

Was releasing your book now just really great timing?

I kinda feel guilty because these guys go out and do a kick-ass op. They deserve all the credit, and just because my book was coming out, I get the publicity.

Did you need special clearance to divulge these details?

We had to go through this thing with a fine-toothed comb. We had to research and make sure everything we talked about had already been printed and [written about] in different articles. I don't want to do anything that's not right by our code of conduct or that's going to hurt any of the special operations guys.

Do you still maintain the skills you learned in the SEALs?

At Christmas I went to the range and shot for the first time in 10 years—all of my bullet [holes] you could cover with a quarter. Talk about muscle memory.



Prepared The Navy SEAL, aboard an H-3 helicopter in 1990, readies for an assault on an enemy ship



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